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The Council of the Thoresby Society desire to record their gratitude and warmest thanks to Professor A. HAMILTON THOMPSON, whom they are proud to claim as one of their vice-presidents, for his generosity in devoting his valuable time, his profound knowledge of ecclesiastical history and antiquities, and his architectural insight to the good of his fellow-members in the superintendence of the excavations at Bolton Priory and the preparation of this description and history of that building.

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HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURAL
DESCRIPTION

OF THE

PRIORY OF ST. MARY,
Bolton-in-Wharfedale,

With some

Account of the Canons Regular of the
Order of St. Augustine and their
Houses in Yorkshire,

BY

A. HAMILTON THOMPSON, M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A.,
Professor of History in the University of Leeds.

LEEDS - 1928

The following have contributed towards the cost of this volume:—

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PREFACE.

This attempt to tell the history of Bolton Priory was first undertaken in 1923, when, with the kind permission of the Duke of Devonshire, excavations were begun upon the site of the cloister. If the appearance of the volume has been somewhat delayed, it is due partly to the limited time which the writer, amid a variety of business, has been able to devote to its preparation, but even more to the numerous problems which have been encountered in connexion with the site and its history, and have discouraged earlier publication as hasty and premature.

Some apology is perhaps necessary for the abandonment of the title by which the church and monastery are usually known. In dealing, however, with a foundation the head of which was not an abbot, but a prior, it is better to avoid all ambiguity and variation of style by giving it the name which is strictly accurate, and which it bears in all historical documents. At the same time, it would be pedantic to insist upon the disuse of Bolton Abbey as its popular title. Even in the middle ages, when the distinction between abbots and priors was more familiar than it is now, it was not carefully observed in the speech of every day, and even legal instruments were not always guiltless of the confusion. The technical error which prevails in the common titles, not only of Bolton, but of Hexham, Kirkham, Newstead, and other religious houses, is conspicuous in the attribution of the name *Abbeys* to numerous ancient friaries in Ireland; while the convenience of that name as an inclusive description is illustrated in the volume, dealing with a number of miscellaneous foundations, which was recently issued by the Great Western Railway with the title *Abbeys*.

It has seemed to the writer that, in treating the history of a house of Augustinian canons, it was not inopportune to provide an account of the origin of canons regular, and to say something in detail of certain features characteristic of their organisation. He took a similar course a few years ago, when engaged upon an account of Newstead Priory for the twenty-third volume of the Transactions of the Thoroton Society. In the present instance he

has made considerably fuller use of original authorities, and has examined the subject from the special point of view of the houses of the order in Yorkshire. The tendency to look upon all inhabitants of monasteries as monks is as widely spread as the habit of referring to all monasteries as abbeys, and there is much less excuse for it. On the other hand, comparatively little has been written about the orders of canons from the constitutional standpoint, and, without some general introduction to the whole subject, much in the history of a monastery which was sometimes called Bolton Canons would be unintelligible. The publication of Mr. H. E. Salter's collection of *Chapters of Augustinian Canons*, with its introduction and carefully edited text of the Benedictine Constitutions, has thrown much additional light upon the history of the northern houses, and to it the writer is greatly indebted.

The first thanks of the writer and of the Society under whose auspices this work is published are due to the noble owner of the site, who permitted and generously defrayed the expense of the work of excavation. A special debt of gratitude must be paid to Mr. Alfred Downs, of the Bolton Abbey Estate Office, whose help has been invaluable in the direction and supervision of operations, and who, for some four years, has shown a lively and practical interest at every stage of the proceedings. Among contributions to the production of this volume, the handsome grant made by the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society takes a very prominent place and calls for special thanks. The writer also records his peculiar obligations to two friends whose help and counsel have been of great assistance. Mr. Sydney D. Kitson, F.S.A., kindly undertook the task of preparing the historical plan of the monastery, and has been closely associated throughout in the consideration of the numerous difficult problems which have arisen in connexion with the buildings. Mr. C. R. Peers, C.B.E., Inspector-General of Ancient Monuments and Director of the Society of Antiquaries, visited the site with the writer more than once, and lent the benefit of his unique knowledge to the solution of many doubtful points of construction and date. The kind suggestions and advice of both have contributed much to the architectural part of this work which could hardly be acknowledged in detail.

For access to historical documents dealing with the internal history of the monastery thanks are specially due to the Archbishop of York's Registrar, Mr. A. V. Hudson, who now, as on many other occasions, has allowed frequent consultation of the registers in his custody from which the most interesting details in that history are derived.

The coloured plan, as already stated, is the work of Mr. Kitson, with some assistance from his pupil, Mr. Noel Pyman. For the measured drawings we have to thank Mr. Addison, of the Architectural Department of the Leeds College of Art, and his assistant, Mr. Chippindale, who have devoted to the work a diligence and patience beyond praise. Mr. F. Mitchell, a member of our Council, has also given much time and pains to the verification of detail in these drawings, for which we are duly grateful. For the photographic illustrations we are mainly indebted to the members of the Leeds Photographic Society, especially to Mr. J. H. Gough, who has spared neither time nor pains in producing a large number of most admirable views. Two have been furnished by Mr. John Gibson, F.S.A., of Hexham, and one by the Commercial Graphic Co., of Bradford, to whom we owe acknowledgments.

It would be possible to add several names to this list of obligations. Among those which should not be omitted are those of the Rev. C. F. Tomlinson, Rector of Bolton Abbey, whose help and kindly hospitality have been a constant source of pleasure, and of Mr. H. Harrison, the vergier of the church, whose never-failing interest in the building and its surroundings has often been of considerable value to the writer. Last of all, not the least thanks are due to the Treasurer of the Thoresby Society, Mr. G. D. Lumb, F.S.A., and its Secretary, Mr. H. W. Thompson, for the encouragement and aid which they have given to the work, and the inimitable patience with which they have watched its progress; and finally to Mr. H. E. Wroot, whose judgment in the selection of illustrations and careful supervision of their production have been guided by a technical knowledge on which he has kindly allowed the writer's ignorance to rely with confidence.

A. HAMILTON THOMPSON.

ADEL, LEEDS,

December, 1927.

NOTE.

On p. 117, in the translation of the account for 1298-9, read, under the heading *Debts received*, instead of 'in aid towards Scotland,' 'for the aid against Scotland.' The reference is to the clerical subsidy of a tenth granted to Edward I for the Scottish war in 1296.

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
BOLTON PRIORY: Introductory, the Site	1
 I. THE CANONS REGULAR OF THE ORDER OF ST. AUGUSTINE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR HOUSES IN YORKSHIRE	
Regular canons: distinction from monks	1-49
The canonical life: St. Augustine of Hippo	3
St. Chrodegang and the Lotharingian system	4
The Lotharingian system in England: growth of the secular side of canonical life	4
Reform of canons: papal legislation in 1059 and 1063	6
The Rule of St. Augustine	7
Monasteries of Austin canons: development of separate congregations	8
Relations of Austin canons with diocesan bishops	9
Pre-Conquest minsters of canons and later survivals	9
Influence of the Norman Conquest upon the development of the canonical life	10
Harold's minster at Waltham	11
Minsters in the diocese of Exeter: introduction of canons regular	12
Foundation of St. Botolph's Priory, Colchester, 1106	13
Foundations possibly earlier than 1106	13
Holy Trinity Priory, London: its relation to Colchester and Waltham	15
Grants of parish churches to monasteries of canons: parochial responsibilities	15
Substitution of regulars for seculars in early minsters: Christchurch Priory, Hants	16
Survival of the secular life in minsters in the province of York	19
Augustinian monasteries in the northern province: the Yorkshire houses	21
St. Oswald's Priory at Nostell: foundation	22
Relation of St. Oswald's to dependent parish churches	24
Bridlington, Guisbrough, Newburgh, Kirkham: their appropriated churches	27
Parochial services in monastic churches: Bolton and Bridlington	34
The later Augustinian houses: Healaugh and Haltemprice	36
Organisation of Augustinian monasteries: the northern provincial chapter and the statutes of the Park	36
Archiepiscopal action with regard to statutes and divergences of custom	37
Constitutions of Benedict XII: union of the northern and southern Augustinian provinces	41
	42

	<i>Page</i>
Regulations for provincial visitations	45
Taxation by provincial chapters for common purposes	45
University students: the Augustinian college at Oxford	46
Tenure of benefices by Austin canons	47
Summary of conclusions: similarity between later houses of canons regular and colleges of chantry priests	48
II. THE HISTORY OF BOLTON PRIORY	50-129
Foundation of Embsay Priory, 1120	50
Claim of Huntingdon Priory to Skipton Church: question of relation of Embsay to Huntingdon	50
Dedication of Embsay Priory to St. Mary and St. Cuthbert: possible connexion with the double dedication of Worksop Priory	53
Grants of property to the canons of Embsay, 1120-1150	54
Translation of the priory from Embsay to Bolton after 1151, probably 1154-5	56
Charters of Alice de Rumilly and endowments of the monastery at the time of migration	56
Reason for migration: legend of "The Boy of Egremont"	59
Descent of founders and patrons of Bolton until 1293: grants of property in Harewood and Rawdon by Isabel des Forz	60
The early priors: Reynald of Embsay and his successors to 1263	61
William of Tanfield, prior 1267-70: Archbishop Giffard's visitation in 1267	62
Richard of Bachampton, prior 1270-1275: his resignation	64
William Hog, prior 1275: second visitation by Giffard and deprivation of Hog	66
John of Lund, prior 1275-1286	70
Financial burdens of the priory: pensioners	70
Archbishop Wickwane's visitation and injunctions, 1280	71
Documents relating to property, <i>temp.</i> Edward I	74
Archbishop Romeyn's visitation: resignation of Prior Lund, 1286	75
Prior John II, 1286, probably John of Laund: confusion between him and John of Lund	76
Friendly relations between the new prior and the archbishop: journey of the prior to Italy, 1291	76
Appropriation of the chapel of Carlton-in-Craven, 1292	77
Part of the prior in Romeyn's proceedings against the bishop of Durham	78
Prior John II and John of Bradford	79
Acquisition of the manor of Appletreewick, 1300, etc.	79
Appropriation of the church of Long Preston, 1304	80
Notices of the priory, 1304-1311: pardon for the appropri- ation of Carlton, 1311	83
Property of the priory, <i>temp.</i> Edward II	84
Ordinations of the vicarages of Long Preston and Carlton, 1307 and 1311	85
Archbishop Greenfield's dealings with William of Appelton, a refractory canon, 1313-1315	87
Further notices of property in 1316, etc.	88
Invasions of the Scots and temporary dispersion of the con- vent, 1318-1322	90

	<i>Page</i>
Visitation of Archbishop Melton, 1321	92
Deeds relating to the vicarages of Long Preston and Kildwick, 1322	93
Ordination of the vicarage of Skipton, 1326	93
Later years of Prior John of Laund	94
Building operations after the dispersion: probably aided by the Cliffords, patrons of the priory since 1310	94
The "Comptus" of Bolton Priory, 1290-1325: evidence for building operations, etc.	95
Thomas of Coppeley, prior, died 1340, probable successor of John of Laund, <i>c.</i> 1330	98
Robert of Harton, prior, 1340-1369	99
Canons in charge of parish churches: Thomas of Menyngham, vicar of Skipton	99
Grant and appropriation of the church of Harewood, 1351- 1353: provisions for John de Lisle's chantry of six priests	100
Chantry for the families of Otterburn and Bradeley founded in the priory church, 1364	103
Robert of Otteley, prior, 1369	104
Robert Grene, prior in 1397	104
Indult to present canons to vicarages of appropriated churches, 1398	104
Visitation by the commissary of the dean and chapter of York, 1398: revocation of his orders by Archbishop Scrope	104
Murder of Richard of Wintringham, vicar of Skipton, 1401	105
Resignation of John Farnehill, prior, 1415	105
Robert Catton, prior, 1416-1430	105
John Farnehill re-elected, 1430; succeeded by Lawrence, prior in 1439, and Thomas Boston, prior in 1449	106
Licence to a canon to retire to Coverham for his health, 1441	106
Appropriation and ordination of the vicarage of Broughton	106
Re-endowment of the vicarages of Kildwick and Long Preston, 1455	107
William Man, prior, 1456-1471: his resignation	108
Christopher Lofthouse, prior, 1471	109
Gilbert Marsden or Wilson, prior, <i>c.</i> 1477-1483	109
Visitation and injunctions by Archbishop Rotherham's vicar- general, 1482	109
Christopher Wood, prior, 1483-1495: ordinations for the maintenance of two ex-priors, 1483	110
Thomas Ottelay or Jackson, prior, 1495-1513	111
Richard Moone, prior, 1513-1539	111
Bolton Priory during the Pilgrimage of Grace	111
Suppression of the priory, 1539	112
Pensions of canons and death of Prior Moone	112
The parochial cure of Bolton	112
Possessions of the priory at the suppression	113
Grants of property formerly belonging to the monastery	114
Subsequent descent of the Bolton estate	115
APPENDIX. Translation of the monastic accounts for the year 1298-1299	116

	<i>Page</i>
III. ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE REMAINS OF	
BOLTON PRIORY	130-180
General remarks	130
The priory church: summary of history	131
Presbytery, etc.: exterior	133
Presbytery, etc.: interior	135
Crossing	140
North transept	143
South transept	145
Nave: exterior	147
Nave: interior	149
North aisle	152
West tower	154
Nave: ritual arrangements	156
The cloister	157
East range of cloister: parlour and chapter-house	158
East range: ground-floor	161
Rere-dorter	164
East range: south extension	165
Dorter	166
South range: frater and undercroft	166
West range: cellar and prior's lodging	168
West range: western annexe	169
Extra-claustral buildings	170
Foundations in churchyard	171
Boyle room	171
Possible site of the infirmary	172
Rectory house	173
Building south-west of rectory	174
Outer court	174
Gatehouse (Bolton Hall)	174
Precinct wall	178
Barn	179

MEASURED DRAWINGS.

I. Choir: Window in South wall	<i>To face</i> p. 134
II. Presbytery: Arcading in North wall	p. 137
III. South Transept: Doorway in West wall	p. 145
IV. Nave: South side, exterior	p. 147
V. Nave: West front	p. 148
VI. North aisle of Nave: West front	p. 152
VII. " " " " exterior and interior	p. 153
VIII. Tower: West face	p. 154

LIST OF PLATES.

(Plates II–XII, XIV, XVII–XXII, XXIV–XXIX, XXXI–XXXIV, and XXXVI–LXI, are from photographs by Mr. J. H. Gough. Plates XIII, XV, XVI, are from photographs by Mr. R. H. Atcherley; Plate XXIII, by Mr. G. H. Rodwell; and Plates XXX and XXXV, by Mr. J. Gibson, F.S.A.)

- PLATE I. Bolton Priory, from a mezzotint engraving after a water-colour painting by Thomas Girtin. *Frontispiece.*
- II. The Priory Church: general view from North-west.
 - III. East End of the Church, North-east angle.
 - IV. Choir and Presbytery: North wall, exterior.
 - V. Choir and Presbytery: South side, showing head of window in East wall of South Transept.
 - VI. East end of Church, South-east angle.
 - VII. East gable of Church, with pinnacle of South-east buttress.
 - VIII. Choir and Presbytery: interior, looking East.
 - IX. Choir and Presbytery: interior, North side.
 - X. Choir and Presbytery: arcading, South side.
 - XI. Presbytery, Choir, and Crossing, looking West, showing Crossing arches and modern blocking of West arch.
 - XII. Choir: interior, South-west bay, showing twelfth-century arch into Transept chapels and East piers of Crossing.
 - XIII. Choir: arcading in South wall, showing masonry of first Church.
 - XIV. Presbytery: arcading in South wall, with tomb-recess and doorway to Chantry chapel.
 - XV. Presbytery: arcading in South wall, Eastern compartments, showing capitals.
 - XVI. Presbytery: arcading in North wall, Western compartments, showing capitals.
 - XVII. Chancel: interior, North-east corner, with site of Chancel steps.
 - XVIII. Chancel: tomb-recess in North wall, with part of Presbytery arcading.
 - XIX. Chancel: South wall, sedilia.
 - XX. Presbytery: arcading in South wall, with tomb-recess, etc.
 - XXI. Crossing: South arch and South-east pier, looking South-west.
 - XXII. North Transept. (1) Exterior, West side. (2) Interior, North window of East aisle.
 - XXIII. North Transept: interior, looking North, with North and East arches of Crossing.
 - XXIV. Crossing: North-east angle, piers and arches.
 - XXV. Crossing: South-east angle, piers and arches.
 - XXVI. North Transept: South arch of arcade, showing 12th-century angle-shaft, piscina of East chapel, and archway into Choir.
 - XXVII. North Transept: arcade and clerestory, East side, showing remains of East aisle and blocked arch from North aisle of Nave.

- XXVIII. South Transept: Cloister doorway, showing arcading in Cloister wall of Nave.
- XXIX. South Transept: Cloister doorway, exterior.
- XXX. Nave: South wall, with Cloister arcade and doorways.
- XXXI. Nave: West doorway and window, with East arch of 16th-century Tower.
- XXXII. Nave: West doorway.
- XXXIII. Nave: interior, looking East, showing West arch of Crossing and modern fittings of parochial Chancel.
- XXXIV. Nave: North arcade and clerestory.
- XXXV. Nave: interior, South wall, showing wall-passage and Western Cloister doorway.
- XXXVI. Nave: windows and passage in South wall.
- XXXVII. Nave: interior, South-west corner, with Western Cloister doorway and wall of West range of Cloister.
- XXXVIII. Nave, North aisle and clerestory, exterior, with North Transept.
- XXXIX. North aisle of Nave: West front, with North-west buttress of Tower.
- XL. North aisle: North doorway and niche.
- XLI. West Tower, from North-west.
- XLII. West Tower, from South-west, showing site of Cloister.
- XLIII. West Tower: South-west buttress.
- XLIV. West Tower: West doorway, with inscription recording building in hollow moulding above panelling.
- XLV. Floor-tiles found in excavation of South Transept and Cloister.
- XLVI. Nave: North-east corner, showing North-west pier of Crossing, with cut for rood-beam, and inserted 13th-century corbel.
- XLVII. Nave and South Transept, with site of Cloister (as at present).
- XLVIII. Archway of passage to Chapter-house: East side, with area of Cloister and Bolton Hall.
- XLIX. (1) East range, South end: base-course of 13th-century wall and buttress.
(2) Foundations of 14th-century Chapter-house.
- L. Thirteenth-century boss, probably from vaulting of the earlier Chapter-house.
- LI. (1) Extension of East range: North end, showing base of 13th-century South wall, with Rere-dorter and drain beyond, and partition wall to South.
(2) Extension of East range: South end, looking North-west.
- LII. South Transept: West wall (interior), with South-west buttress, line of Dorter roof, and remains of Lobby and Night-stair above archway to Chapter-house passage.
- LIII. (1) Day-stair to Dorter.
(2) West range: bases of dividing row of columns.
- LIV. West range of Cloister: foundations, looking North, with North-west angle of inner wall of Cloister to right.
- LV. Rectory house, with Boyle Room, probably part of Infirmary buildings.
- LVI. Window at North end of Boyle Room building, with inserted doorway.
- LVII. Bolton Hall: Gatehouse of the Priory, with modern wings.
- LVIII. Bolton Hall: East side of Gatehouse, with blocked archway and inserted doorway from 14th-century Chapter-house.
- LIX. Interior of Gateway, now Dining-room, with archways between outer and inner halls.
- LX. Bolton Hall: interior of Gateway, North side of inner hall, with foot of stair to upper floor and doorway to Porter's Lodge.
- LXI. Mill and Aqueduct archway.

BOLTON PRIORY

No monastic ruin in the British Isles is more famous than Bolton Priory. Its remains are much less imposing than those of other celebrated monasteries. It belonged to a religious order which habitually constructed its buildings upon a modest scale, and rarely attempted works of such magnificence as, elsewhere in Yorkshire, may be seen in the priory churches of Guisbrough and Bridlington. Compared with the great Benedictine and Cistercian abbeys of the county, it falls, historically and architecturally, into a class below the first. Apart from the romantic but highly untrustworthy legend of its foundation, it possesses no such narratives of its early history as have survived in the case of Rievaulx, Fountains, Byland, Jervaulx, and Whitby, no detailed chronicle like those of St. Mary's at York and Meaux. Its annals, so far as they can be traced, were uneventful; its buildings were normal. But in its site and surroundings it has been singularly fortunate. Fountains may lay claim to a more spectacular beauty; Rievaulx lies amid scenery as fine and even more diversified; the rural peace of Byland has a noble contrast in a background of wooded slopes and broken moorland. Bolton, however, set in the sweep of a broad and rushing stream at a point where it issues from the narrow defiles of its upper course into more open and pastoral country, has advantages which have given it a special attraction to artists and poets. The poet whose emotions were stirred to their most lucid expression by the Wye and Tintern, also found a theme for his verse in the Wharfe and Bolton; and, often as Tintern has been painted, it has left no enduring mark upon English art comparable to the influence of Bolton upon the genius of the most fertile and imaginative of English artists.

That influence and, with it, the peculiar character of the site of Bolton Priory, have been defined by Ruskin in a passage remarkable alike for its beauty and felicitous accuracy of description, which may be set down here without further comment.

“The Abbey is placed, as most lovers of our English scenery know well, on a little promontory of level park land, enclosed by one of the sweeps of the Wharfe. On the other side of the river, the flank of the dale rises in a pretty wooded brow, which the river, leaning against, has cut into two or three somewhat bold masses of rock, steep to the water's edge, but feathered

above with copse of ash and oak. Above these rocks, the hills are rounded softly upwards to the moorland; the entire height of the brow towards the river being perhaps two hundred feet, and the rocky parts of it not above forty or fifty, so that the general impression upon the eye is that the hill is little more than twice the height of the ruins, or of the groups of noble ash trees which encircle them. One of these groups is conspicuous above the rest, growing on the very shore of the tongue of land which projects into the river, whose clear brown water, stealing first in mere threads between the separate pebbles of shingle, and eddying in soft golden lines towards its central currents, flows out of amber into ebony, and glides calm and deep below the rock on the opposite shore.

"Except in this stony bed of the stream, the scene possesses very little more aspect of mountain character than belongs to some of the park and meadow land under the chalk hills near Henley and Maidenhead; and if it were faithfully drawn on all points, and on its true scale, would hardly more affect the imagination of the spectator, unless he traced, with such care as is never from any spectator to be hoped, the evidence of nobler character in the pebbled shore and unobtrusive rock. But the scene does in reality affect the imagination strongly, and in a way wholly different from lowland hill scenery. A little farther up the valley the limestone summits rise, and that steeply, to a height of twelve hundred feet above the river, which foams between them in the narrow and dangerous channel of the Strid. Noble moorlands extend above, purple with heath, and broken into scars and glens; and around every soft tuft of wood, and gentle extent of meadow, throughout the dale, there floats a feeling of this mountain power, and an instinctive apprehension of the strength and greatness of this wild northern land.

"It is to the association of this power and border sternness with the sweet peace and tender decay of Bolton Priory, that the scene owes its distinctive charm."¹

In the following pages it is proposed to give some account, first, of the general characteristics of the religious body to which the medieval inhabitants of this site belonged; secondly, of the history of the priory; and, thirdly, of its buildings as disclosed by the excavations begun in the summer of 1923 and continued at intervals during the years 1924 and 1925 under the direction of the present writer.

¹ Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, 2nd ed. (1898 reprint), iii, 262, 263 (pt. v, ch. xvi, §§ 30-32).

I.

THE CANONS REGULAR OF THE ORDER OF ST. AUGUSTINE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR HOUSES IN YORKSHIRE.

Bolton Priory was a monastery of regular canons who followed the rule of St. Augustine, and were commonly known as Augustinian or Austin canons, or sometimes from the colour of their habit as Black canons.¹ In their mode of life there was little to distinguish such canons from monks. It was a monastic life; their houses were monasteries with the title of abbeys,² or more frequently, priories; they lived under a rule, observing the three substantial vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity. Their distinctive habit became the only feature which marked their individual position among the religious orders. In origin, however, they were essentially different from monks. Communities of monks were, in the beginning, associations composed largely of laymen who had left the secular life to submit to religious discipline and spend their time in pious contemplation and in the service of God. For the celebration of the sacraments it was necessary that each community should have one or more priests attached to it, but it was not until some time had passed that the profession of a monk was succeeded as a matter of course by his advancement to priest's orders, or that the monk and lay brother were separated by a definite line, such as

¹ The ordinary habit of an Austin canon in England was a black cassock, sleeved surplice, black cape or cloak with hood, fastened only at the neck and left open in front, and black, square cap.

² Popular usage in the middle ages was probably as careless of the distinction between an abbey and a priory as in our own day: see *Trans. Thoroton Soc.*, xxiii, 54*n.*, 103. The total number of Augustinian houses ruled by an abbot in England was twenty-four. Of these, Cirencester, Creake, Darley, Haughmond, Kenilworth, Leicester, Owston, St. James' at Northampton, St. Osyth, Rocester, Thornton, Waltham, and Wellow (otherwise Grimsby) were all members of the English province of the order. Creake did not become an abbey until the reign of Henry III, and Kenilworth remained a priory until about 1485. St. Augustine's at Bristol, Keynsham, and Wigmore belonged to the congregation subordinate to the abbey of St. Victor at Paris; while Bourne, Dorchester, Hartland, Lesnes, Lilleshall, Missenden, and Nutley were subordinate to that of Arrouaise. There were no Augustinian abbeys in the province of York. Several of the abbeys were in the patronage of the Crown, which may account for the gift of the title to comparatively unimportant houses like Rocester and Wellow. Two only, Cirencester and Waltham, were habitually represented in parliament. The papal privilege of the mitre was occasionally granted to individual heads of houses, and in some of the larger houses, *e.g.* Bristol, was customary. See *Trans. Thoroton Soc.*, *u.s.*, xxiii, 56, 57.

we find strongly marked in Cistercian customs. Communities of canons, on the other hand, were composed of clerks in holy orders, banded under rule in the religious life.

The canonical life was, in fact, a separate department of monasticism, which was strongly influenced by the growth of Benedictinism in the west, while it traced its origin to an earlier development of communal life. It was modelled upon the system of which the most conspicuous pattern was that set by St. Augustine of Hippo, at the close of the fourth century, for the clergy of his diocese. The nucleus of that diocese was the bishop's church in the city from which he took his title, the centre from which his clergy extended their missionary efforts to the surrounding country, their place of common worship, and the home to which they habitually returned. St. Augustine united this body of clerks by the bond of a common household, in which all property was shared as a common fund.¹ It was not until a much later age that the document known as the rule of St. Augustine was formulated from his works; but, as part of the impress which his thought exercised upon Christendom, the type of institution which he had encouraged was not forgotten as a model for the clerical life. When, more than three centuries after his death, the *vita canonica* became a recognised feature of ecclesiastical polity, he was soon regarded as its founder and first law-giver.

A great impetus to the canonical life in the west was given by St. Chrodegang, bishop of Metz 742-766. The rule which bears his name was composed for the clergy of his cathedral church with the view of counteracting the prevalent laxness of secular clerks. Such a rule, he wrote, would be superfluous if the authority of the general canons of councils remained unshaken, and if the strict pattern set by them were followed by bishops and clergy; but the increase of carelessness in shepherds and sheep alike necessitated an attempt at reform.² It need hardly be said that monastic prac-

¹ See *Vita S. Augustini auctore Possidio*, c.v (Migne P.L. xxxii, 37): "Factus ergo presbyter monasterium intra ecclesiam mox instituit; et cum Dei servis vivere coepit secundum modum et regulam sub sanctis apostolis constitutam: maxime ut nemo quidquam proprium in illa societate haberet, sed eis essent omnia communia, et distribueretur unicuique sicut opus erat." This was before his episcopate. "At ubi creatus est episcopus, cum ad humanitatem assiduam hospitibus exhibendam ex officio teneri se intelligeret, ac id monasticæ vitæ tranquillitati officere arbitraretur, voluit secum in domo episcopii clericorum, hoc est, presbyterorum, diaconorum, subdiaconorum ecclesiæ suæ servientium, habere monasterium" (*Vita . . ex scriptis . . concinnata IV*, vii, 7; P.L. xxxii, 222). See *Sermones* ccclv, ccclvi: "De vita et moribus clericorum" (P.L. xxxix, 1568-81).

² "Si trecentorum decem et octo reliquorumque sanctorum patrum canonum auctoritas perduraret, et clerus atque episcopus secundum eorum rectitudinis normam viverent, superfluum videretur a nobis exiguis minimisque, super hac re tam ordinate disposita retractari, et quasi quidem novi aliquid dici; sed dum pastorum subditorumque negligentia et his temporibus nimium crevit, quid aliud agendum nobis est, qui in tam gravi discrimine venimus, nisi ut quantum possumus, si non quantum debemus, ad rectitudinis lineam, Deo inspirante, clerum nostrum reducamus" (Reg. Chrod. Prologus; Migne, P.L. lxxxix, 1057).

tice, even in an age when monasteries themselves were by no means free from slackness, had a strong influence upon his scheme. The common life of a monastery, with the dormitory in which the monks slept, and the refectory in which they ate together, was applied to a corporation of secular clerks engaged in the services of a great church. Chrodegang, however, did not go so far as to enforce the law of poverty and the surrender of private possessions upon his subjects. The secular clerk might be regulated, but he could not be transformed into a monk. He became the recipient of distributions from a common source, but such private income as he had was not touched: he lived in the cloister attached to the church, but, with the bishop's licence, he might have his separate habitation in its buildings.¹ While the rule of Chrodegang made for better order and for a more methodical conduct of divine service, it involved no complete separation from the world.

The system thus inaugurated was long regarded as characteristic of Lorraine, the district in which it took form. At the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle in 816, at which the influence of the monastic reformer, Benedict of Aniane, was predominant, an effort was made to bring clerks in general under the canonical rule. The compilation of a book of institutes from the canons of councils and the writings of the Fathers was entrusted by Lewis the Pious to Amalarius, dean of Metz, and the result was approved by the assembled synod.² These regulations are founded primarily upon the *sacri canones*, the ecclesiastical canons; the life which they prescribe is the *vita canonica*, the canonical life; and the persons who embrace this last are *canonici*, canonical persons, whose behaviour is directed by these authoritative pronouncements.³ A clear distinction is laid down between them and monks. On both the duty of eschewing vice and embracing virtue is equally binding. But while the use of linen and flesh meat and the tenure of individual property are forbidden to monks, who, in accordance with the teaching of the Gospel, renounce their patrimonies and flee from the world to devote their minds to heavenly things, there is nothing in the sacred canons which denies these worldly comforts to followers of the *vita canonicorum*. Humility and righteousness are necessary qualifications for the proper use of private revenues, but that is all.⁴

¹ "Ita instituimus ut in illa claustra ille clerus canonicus, qui sub ipso ordine, Deo adjuvante, vivere debent, ut omnes in uno dormiant in dormitorio, praeter illos quibus episcopus licentiam dederit, secundum quod ei rationaliter visum fuerit, ut in ipsa claustra per dispositas mansiones dormiant separatim" (Reg. Chrod., cap. iii, u.s., p. 1060).

² See Labbe, *Concilia*, ix, 528, note 1. The *Liber de institutione canonicorum* published at this synod is printed *ibid.*, ix, 404-495. See also P.L. cv, 815 sqq.

³ The word is also explained as meaning the persons enrolled upon the *canon*, the *matriculus*, or official list of members of a collegiate establishment. This appears to be a secondary and acquired meaning: if there is some doubt about the precise significance of *canonicus*, there can be none about the meaning of *vita canonica*.

⁴ The edition of the rule of Chrodegang printed by Labbe, *Concilia*, ix, directs that each person adopting the canonical life should make over his

No great hardship was involved in the acceptance of principles of this kind. Like a monastery, the *canonica*, as this type of establishment came to be called,¹ had its regular round of offices in church, its occupations in cloister, its dormitory, refectory, and infirmary; but it was without the rigidity and seclusion of the strict monastic life, for which it was naturally regarded as offering an attractive substitute. Indeed, during the decline of the Carolingian empire there was a strong tendency, amounting to a general disposition, on the part of monks to abandon the discipline of the Gospel for the easier system of the sacred canons. Even in the reign of Lewis the Pious there was more than one monastery in which the monks rejected their proper title and aspired to be called *clerici*²; and to this attitude there is a close parallel in the history of English monasticism during the period immediately preceding the Norman conquest.

The stability of the *vita canonica* itself was threatened by the licence which both Chrodegang and the synod of Aix had given to the possession of private property. The permission of *proprietas* is fatal to the success of communal life, and in the sequel the normal cathedral and collegiate chapter departed far from the ideals of Chrodegang. The main strength of the *vita canonica* lay, as we have seen, in the churches of Lorraine, and from Lorraine it came to England and was adopted at Wells and Exeter shortly before the Conquest, while its influence is evident somewhat earlier in other churches, such as York, Beverley, and Southwell.³ Its formal constitution left permanent traces upon the highly conservative chapter of Beverley, where later elements derived from the constitution of Norman secular churches were grafted on it. It survived throughout the middle ages at Exeter, where the prebends of the twenty-four canons remained in the form of fixed and equal dividends from the common fund.⁴ But the essential principle of the common life in cathedral and collegiate churches was abandoned for private residence. The separate prebendal estate of varying value became the canon's source of revenue from the church, without responsibility of residence in the city or precincts. Distributions from the common fund of the chapter were retained as special perquisites for canons who chose to reside on the spot in separate houses. The cloister,

private goods to the Church, but should retain the usufruct in his lifetime (c. xxxi, P.L. lxxxix, 1114-16). For diet, see D'Achery's edition, c. viii (*ibid.*, 1063).

¹ Cf. the numerous references given by Ducange, s.v. *Canonica*.

² See, e.g., the case of St. Bénigne at Dijon, ap. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Relig.*, v, 96; and cf. the opposition of the monks of Fleury a century later to St. Odo of Cluny's efforts to reform them (*ibid.*, v, 92, 93).

³ A refectory and dormitory for the canons of Beverley are said to have been begun by Alfric, archbishop of York 1023-1051, continued by Cynesige (1051-1060), and finished by Aldred (1061-1069), who also began refectories at York and Southwell (*Chron. Pontif. Ebor.*, ap. *Historians Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 353).

⁴ From the returns of pluralities made in 1366 it appears that each prebend was assessed at six marks yearly. "Singule prebende in eadem ecclesia sunt taxate dumtaxat ad sex marcas sterlingorum et non valent ultra" (Lambeth Reg. Langham, fo. 33d).

where one was built, became a merely ornamental appendage to the church. The monastic character, in short, vanished entirely from the ordinary corporations of secular canons, in which the larger number of members were permanently non-resident; and the revival of the common life and the common fund in the colleges of chantry priests which were founded in many churches during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was due rather to convenience in the distribution of limited endowments than to any conscious or systematic return to earlier practice.¹

Meanwhile, as the secular element in the canonical life grew stronger, and its reaction upon monasticism became obvious, there was a movement towards its reform, which succeeded in preserving the principle of the common life under a stricter rule. From this movement sprang the orders of canons regular, definitely monastic in character. While the earlier movement, which had stopped short of identity with the monastic life, had proceeded from the Frankish kingdom, under the rule of the house of Charles the Great, the new impulse came directly from Italy and Rome. Nevertheless, while the driving force of the reform was the Italian zealot, St. Peter Damian, it came to maturity under popes who owed their elevation to the Saxon emperor, Henry III, and two of whom, Leo IX and Stephen IX, were acquainted closely, the first as bishop of Toul and the second as a native of the district, with the original home of the canonical system in Lorraine. To both popes the chastity of the clergy was a matter of prime importance. At a council held in Rome in 1059, Nicholas II, recalling a constitution of his predecessor, Stephen IX, on this subject, added the command that priests, clerks and laymen who, in obedience to this decree, had preserved their chastity, should eat together and sleep, as religious clerks ought to do, close to the churches to which they were attached, and should hold in common whatever came to them from those churches. He further besought and admonished them to study with all their might to attain to the apostolic, that is to the common life.²

This pronouncement was confirmed by Alexander II in 1063, with the addition of a clause emphasising the celestial reward to be reaped by the followers of perfection.³ The decrees of 1059 and 1063 mark the beginning of the monastic life of clerks under papal recognition. They separated the celibate from the married clerk

¹ See the present writer's *Notes on colleges of secular canons in England* (*Archæol. Journ.*, lxxiv, 139-239), and *The Statutes of the college of St. Mary and All Saints, Fotheringhay* (*ibid.*, lxxv, 240-309).

² "Et præcipientes statuimus, ut ii prædictorum ordinum, qui eidem prædecessori nostro obediunt, castitatem servaverunt, juxta ecclesias quibus ordinati sunt, sicut oportet religiosos clericos, simul manducant, et dormiant: et quidquid eis ab ecclesiis venit, communiter habeant. Et rogantes monemus, ut ad apostolicam, communem scilicet, vitam summopere pervenire studeant" (Labbe, *Concilia*, xii, 46).

³ There are slight variations, of which the only one of any importance is the substitution of "ab ecclesia competit" for "ab ecclesiis venit." The additional clause is "quatenus perfectionem consecuti, cum his qui centesimo fructu ditantur in caelesti patria mereantur adscribi" (*ibid.*, xii, 138).

against whom Gregory VII, already among the reformers of the papal court, was to wage relentless strife. It sanctioned the formation of societies, including lay members as well as clerks in orders, whose model was to be the apostolic community of property. As regards the *conversus* or lay brother, who at first sight may seem to be an anomaly in a community of clerks, it should be remembered that he was not out of place in any religious establishment. If the organisation of large bodies of lay brothers for purposes of labour belongs especially to the Cistercian order and was due to the peculiar circumstances of their constitution, the *conversus* was also to be found, as distinct from the ordinary lay servant, in other monasteries and even in nunneries.¹ In such houses he survived in small numbers well into the fifteenth century; but so far as we know such numbers had never been greatly exceeded at any time.

The name of St. Augustine, as that of the institutor of the canonical life, was associated with the movement at any rate from a very early period in its activity; and it is probable that before very long the rule which bears his name became the official manual of bodies of canons regular, though the date of its general adoption is not known.² Although we speak, and men in the middle ages spoke, of the order of St. Augustine, the canons who followed his rule were under no centralised government that welded them together in one united organisation. Like Benedictine monasteries, the houses of Austin canons were independent of each other: each formed, as it were, an order in itself. It is thus very likely that the general reception of the rule was a gradual process. The rule itself, compared with that of St. Benedict, is slight in volume and general in its terms.³ It was taken almost verbatim from a letter addressed by St. Augustine to a community of religious women, as the nearest approach to a monastic rule to be found in his writings.⁴ Divided into seven sections, one to be read on each day in the week, its counsels stood in need of considerable supplement and afforded room for much divergency of practice. The well-known book of customs and observances of the Augustinian priory of Barnwell is in a certain sense a local rule, furnishing the detailed directions in which the rule of St. Augustine itself was conspicuously wanting. Such local customs, of course, bore a close family likeness, and the life of one monastery was much like that of another. But Augustinian monas-

¹ See as regards nunneries the present writer's essay on *Double Monasteries and the male element in Nunneries* (Report of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on the Ministry of Women, 1919, app. viii, pp. 160, 161).

² Helyot (*op. cit.*, ii, 17) quotes a charter of Gervais, archbishop of Reims, attributed to 1067, and granted to the canons of St. Denis at Reims: "Canonicos ibidem ad honorem et laudem Dei constitui, beati Augustini regulam ordinemque profitentes." This charter is printed at length in *Gallia Christ.*, x, app., pp. 26, 27; cf. *ibid.*, ix, 289. Frere (*Barnwell Priory*, ap. Fasc. J. W. Clark dicatus, 1909, pp. 211, 212) shows that the general diffusion of the rule may be attributed to the pontificate of Urban II (1088-1099).

³ There is a good text of the rule, with translation, in J. W. Clark, *Observances of Barnwell Priory*.

⁴ Ep. ccxi (Migne, P.L. xxxiii, 958-965).

teries showed, within the first century of their organised life, a tendency to sub-divide themselves into groups or congregations, which looked for guidance to a parent or central house. The congregations of St. Victor at Paris, and of Arrouaise in the diocese of Arras, embraced a number of subject houses, several of which were in England,¹ and were virtually small orders with a central government of their own, though, as time went on, their distinction from canons' houses of the ordinary kind became little more than nominal.² Under the influence of Cistercian monasticism the Premonstratensians developed into a separate order; while the often repeated effort to combine two communities of both sexes in a single establishment, which was attempted both at Arrouaise and at Prémontré, succeeded in the English order of Sempringham, where the male portion of the community followed the Augustinian rule. But it was not until the thirteenth century that the association between Augustinian houses of the normal type was strengthened by the institution of provincial chapters, presided over by abbots and priors of monasteries.

Until that time houses of Austin canons were bound together mainly by identity of rule, and by such mutual federations as took place from time to time between neighbouring monasteries whose interests and dangers were allied. From the beginning, so far as England was concerned, they submitted, more readily than the houses of other orders, to the jurisdiction of the diocesan bishops. While the great Benedictine abbeys constantly claimed, and in several instances obtained the privilege of being immediately subject to the pope; while Cistercians, Carthusians, Premonstratensian and Gilbertine canons, and the orders of friars all enjoyed exemption from episcopal control, Augustinian canons remained in subjection to bishops. Two English houses only, the priory of St. Botolph at Colchester and the abbey of the Holy Cross at Waltham, were granted permanent exemption. A grant was made to St. Mary's

¹ The abbeys belonging to these congregations have been named already, p. 3, note 2. Mr. H. E. Salter, *Chapters of Aug. Canons* (Cant. and York Soc.), 1922, p. xlv, classes the priories of Stavordale, Woodspring, and Wormsley with Victorine houses. In a list of Augustinian houses in England, c. 1360, where Victorine and Arroasian houses are classed together as Arrac' or Arras', the priories of Calwich, Hastings, Frithelstoke, and Michelham appear under this description (*ibid.*, pp. 277-279).

² The refusal of the abbot of Bourne and others to appear in the general chapters was the occasion of an ordinance made at the Leicester chapter in 1346. In 1353 the general chapter of the English houses levied a contribution of a halfpenny in the mark, to be devoted in part to the expenses which might be caused by the expected *malicia et rebellio* of canons *de secta Orroriencium* (*sic*). This opposition, however, probably died down in the course of the fifteenth century, and at the beginning of the sixteenth the Arroasian houses were amenable to the demands of the provincial chapter. The abbot of Missenden submitted to visitation in 1506, and in 1518 the abbot of Lesnes made formal submission with an oath of obedience to the president. At the same chapter the prior of Wymondley, who had resisted visitation on the ground that he followed the statutes of Dorchester Abbey, an Arroasian foundation, was fined for absence and threatened with coercive measures (Salter, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 60, 179-181, 132, 136).

abbey at Leicester, during the rule of Abbot Repyngdon¹; but, when Repyngdon was promoted to the see of Lincoln in 1405, his abbey relapsed into its previous condition, and the exemption was never maintained. It is sometimes stated that the dependence of such houses upon their diocesan was the reason why their heads in most cases were called priors. Just as the head of a monastic cathedral body was called prior out of courtesy to the bishop of the see, whose throne was in the church, so the head of an Augustinian house waived his claim to the style of abbot out of respect to the bishop whose jurisdiction he acknowledged; though in neither case, of course, was the bishop ever called abbot or exercised any of the rights of an abbot over his monastery. As a matter of fact, this, as regards houses of canons, is little more than a theory. While abbeys of Austin canons were the exception, and all their houses in Yorkshire were priories, not a few of their more important foundations were abbeys from the first or from not long after.

We must now deal more particularly with the genesis of Augustinian canons in England, and with the establishment of their houses in Yorkshire. This chapter of religious history is less attractive in its details than the story of the coming of the Cistercians or the orders of friars, or of the foundation of many individual monasteries of which particulars have reached us. The beginning of canons regular in England was the result, not of an impulse of deep-felt piety or of ascetic fervour, but of a desire for decency and order in a system which, in the eleventh century, was imperfectly regulated and of little or no profit. Mr. William Page has shown in detail the abundant evidence afforded by Domesday of the existence, at and after the Conquest, of a large number of churches in local centres served by communities of priests, which were the centres of parochial ministrations for the neighbourhood.² So far as it is possible to reconstitute the life of these foundations from details of a fragmentary and scattered kind, they approximated to churches of the Lotharingian type, but without any settled discipline. As we have already noted, an effort was made in several centres, during the quarter-of-a-century before the Conquest, to introduce Lotharingian customs into English churches, with the common life as their basis.³ This was a local manifestation of the desire for reform which was felt even more strongly abroad; and the Lotharingian system, with the compromise which it afforded between the purely secular and the strictly regular life, was insufficient to achieve the required object.

Of the secular "minsters" mentioned or implied in Domesday, a certain number preserved their collegiate character at a later date. It has been said already that Exeter and Beverley retained conspicuous traces of their early constitution throughout the middle ages. But in the case of Beverley, although the underlying principle

¹ *Cal. Papal Letters*, vi, 419.

² W. Page, *Some Remarks on Churches of the Domesday Survey* (*Archaeologia*, lxxvi, 61-102).

³ See p. 6 above.

of a communal life remained in which each canon received his equal share in the revenues of the church, it was overlaid by the system, prevalent in secular churches after the Conquest, by which the prebends of the canons were augmented by the revenues of separate estates appropriated to each stall, and consequently varied greatly in value.¹ There was a somewhat similar development in the constitution of the church of Ripon, where the portions of the canons, though probably equal shares to begin with, acquired this individual and localised character.² Documents of the fourteenth century indicate the distinction which such developments had produced between churches of portioners and churches which were truly collegiate.³ It is noticeable that the first of these classes included parish churches in which there were two or more rectors, holding their portions as separate benefices without any corporate tie. Collegiate churches, on the other hand, were corporations of canons with the visible symbols of capitular life and a common seal⁴: while each canon held his separate prebend, there was in most instances, apart from this, a certain amount of corporate property, divided annually between those canons who kept residence. But, although the semblance of the communal system was maintained by the corporate bodies and had disappeared from the churches of the first class, these latter had a more direct connexion with the pre-Conquest minsters. The elaborate constitutions of medieval cathedral and collegiate churches were grafted upon the earlier system, but bore little actual resemblance to it. Churches of portioners, on the other hand, represented that system in its decay. The communal organisation had disappeared, and the shares in the revenues of the church had become individual properties; but all that was needed to restore the primitive system was to incorporate the portioners and equalise the portions as shares in a common fund.

There were thus three lines of development on which the *vita canonica*, as it existed in England at the time of the Conquest, might proceed. The secular minster might lose its corporate character, such as it was, and degenerate into a church the revenues of which were held by several portioners. It might be subjected to a new constitution, with a modified form of community life, in which the common fund and the power of corporate action existed side by side

¹ The returns in *Valor Eccl.*, v, 130, 131, show that the basis of each prebend in the church of Beverley was the corrody, amounting to £7 14s., received by each canon from the provost, who administered the property of the chapter. Apart from this the incomes of the canons varied much in value.

² A summary account of the constitution of Ripon is given by J. T. Fowler, *Memorials of Ripon* (Surtees Soc.), iii, pp. viii-xix. The significance of the document printed *ibid.*, ii, 25, from the register of Archbishop Corbridge, with its distinction between *portio* and *praebenda*, has been somewhat overlooked.

³ See, e.g., *Hereford Reg. Gilbert* (Cant. and York and Cantilupe Soc.), pp. 60, 61, for a decision in 1384, that the churches of Ledbury and Bromyard were not collegiate, but portionary.

⁴ The tests of a college supplied by the document mentioned in the last note were a common seal, a common chest, common bells, a chapter-house or other building for the meetings of a community, and a *caput principale* with the title of dean, provost, master, warden, or some such equivalent.

with the possession of separate benefices in the form of prebends. Or, thirdly, it might be organised upon monastic lines, on which the communal life was strictly maintained in its literal sense, and the common fund was administered without division among individual members of the house.

The most striking instance of the effect of the canonical movement in England during the period immediately preceding the Conquest, is the foundation by Harold of the minster of canons at Waltham, which took place in 1062.¹ The charter of Edward the Confessor ascribes Harold's action to the inspiration of God, granting him "such a sweet taste of divine piety, that not only should he be an effectual worshipper of God, but also should win the reputation of an earnest promoter of the canonical rule."² It may be suspected that the rule here mentioned implies the introduction of Lotharingian customs, as the rule of St. Augustine was not yet generally diffused among houses of canons.³ In the sequel, the quasi-monastic life instituted by the founder degenerated into a state in which all pretence of discipline was abandoned. Harold's college existed until 1177, when its unreformed condition was a reasonable pretext for its transformation into a monastery of canons regular. The canons, according to the charter granted by Henry II, were then seculars, living without religion and in the lusts of the flesh, whose notorious vices were a stumbling-block to many. The status of Waltham was that of a royal free chapel, exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and spiritually subject to the Holy See alone. Henry therefore, with papal authority, got rid of the old canons by compensating them with benefices of equal value to their previous portions, and introduced a body of regulars observing "the glorious rule of living handed down by the holy Apostles, and afterwards adorned with many additions under divine revelation by the great and blessed Austin."⁴

The establishment of the Augustinian rule at Waltham was effected at a date at which several other transformations of the kind had been for many years accomplished facts, and its delay was no doubt due to the privileged position of the foundation, which was maintained under the new dispensation. We have no record of the date when symptoms of decline in Harold's minster first became

¹ See *Monasticon* (ed. Caley, etc.), vi, 61, 62, for the foundation charter.

² "Quinetiam ille, qui omnia in omnibus operatur ut vult, talem divinae pietatis dulcedinem, ut supra memoravi, concessit ei, ut non solum Dei cultor efficiatur, verum etiam canonicae regulae strenuus institutor fieri credatur" (*ibid.*, vi, 61).

³ See p. 8 above, note 2.

⁴ *Monasticon*, vi, 63. "Quapropter, cum haec superscripta ecclesia de Waltham a primitiva sua fundatione semper regalis fuisset capella, nulli archiepiscopo vel episcopo, sed tantum ecclesiae Romanae et regiae dispositioni subjecta, illam cum omnibus pertinentiis suis liberam, et, ut praescriptum est, absolutam, ex auctoritate supradicti papae concessimus et donavimus in perpetuam elemosinam canonicis regularibus, gloriosam servantibus vivendi regulam a sanctis apostolis traditam, et postea a magno et beato Augustino divina revelatione, multis adjectis, ornatam." I have inserted a comma after *absolutam*, the omission of which in the printed copy confuses the sense and gives a false impression

manifest, but the work of imposing the regular life upon bodies of canons whose obedience to a canonical rule had become purely nominal, had been going on from the beginning of the reign of Henry I; and we may infer that ostensibly regular foundations like the college of Waltham had failed in their pious object. Leofric of Exeter is credited with having introduced canons regular into the former cathedral church of St. Germans after his removal of the sees of Crediton and Cornwall to his new cathedral city¹; but his encouragement of the Lotharingian constitution at Exeter points to a reform at St. Germans on similar lines, and it is probable that St. Germans was subjected to the later reform by which William Warel-

NOTE to p. 13.

On pp. 13, 15, the date of the foundation of St. Botolph's Priory at Colchester is given as 1106. There is evidence, however, that the community was in existence before the death of William Rufus in 1100, although the date of its actual transition from the state of a small minster of secular clerks to that of a regular priory is not apparent. Norman, the first prior of Holy Trinity, London, was a member of the community of St. Botolph's and was the leader of the small band which sought instruction in the Rule and observances at St. Lucien of Beauvais and other French monasteries of the order; so that the subjection of the London to the Colchester priory rested on good grounds (see pp. 15, 16, and notes 1, 2 on p. 16). The claim of St. Botolph's to be the earliest Augustinian priory in England was thus well founded, although other houses may have come into independent existence about the same time. The traditional story of the foundation is well summarised in the handbook to St. Botolph's Priory issued by the Department of Ancient Monuments of H.M. Office of Works. It follows that, on p. 15, l. 9, for the words 'an earlier foundation' should be read 'a foundation almost, if not quite, as early.'

to God your Creator the firstfruits of your bodies and souls.
And therefore by the authority of this our second privilege we
decree, that, as you have been the first who have done service

¹ *Monasticon*, ii, 467, 468.

² These reforms rest upon the authority of Leland (*Monasticon*, vi, 51, 211).

³ "Ernulpho praeposito, caeterisque dilectis filiis et fratribus ecclesiae Christi Colcestriae." The dedication to St. Julian and St. Botolph is not mentioned in the document. *Christi*, however, is omitted from the *incipit* of the bull given in the acts of the general chapter for 1509, in which *Eynulpho* appears as the name of the provost (Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 128). This latter form also occurs in the text of the bull in *Monasticon*, vi, 106, 107.

⁴ *Locus*, in the special sense in which the word is applied to religious foundations, corresponding to the English *stow*. Cf. such common titles of monasteries as *Novus Locus*, *Bellus Locus*, or *Locus Sancti Edwardi* (Shaftesbury and Netley), *Locus Regalis* (Rewley).

with the possession of separate benefices in the form of prebends. Or, thirdly, it might be organised upon monastic lines, on which the communal life was strictly maintained in its literal sense, and the common fund was administered without division among individual members of the house.

The most striking instance of the effect of the canonical movement in England during the period immediately preceding the Conquest, is the foundation by Harold of the minster of canons at Waltham, which took place in 1062.¹ The charter of Edward the Confessor ascribes Harold's action to the inspiration of God, granting him "such a sweet taste of divine piety, that not only should he be

¹ See *Monasticon* (ed. Caley, etc.), vi, 61, 62, for the foundation charter.

² "Quinetiam ille, qui omnia in omnibus operatur ut vult, talem divinae pietatis dulcedinem, ut supra memoravi, concessit ei, ut non solum Dei cultor efficiatur, verum etiam canonicae regulae strenuus institutor fieri credatur" (*ibid.*, vi, 61).

³ See p. 8 above, note 2.

⁴ *Monasticon*, vi, 63. "Quapropter, cum haec suprascripta ecclesia de Waltham a primitiva sua fundatione semper regalis fuisset capella, nulli archiepiscopo vel episcopo, sed tantum ecclesiae Romanae et regiae dispositioni subjecta, illam cum omnibus pertinentiis suis liberam, et, ut praescriptum est, absolutam, ex auctoritate supradicti papae concessimus et donavimus in perpetuum elemosinam canonicis regularibus, gloriosam servantibus vivendi regulam a sanctis apostolis traditam, et postea a magno et beato Augustino divina revelatione, multis adjectis, ornatam." I have inserted a comma after *absolutam*, the omission of which in the printed copy confuses the sense and gives a false impression

manifest, but the work of imposing the regular life upon bodies of canons whose obedience to a canonical rule had become purely nominal, had been going on from the beginning of the reign of Henry I; and we may infer that ostensibly regular foundations like the college of Waltham had failed in their pious object. Leofric of Exeter is credited with having introduced canons regular into the former cathedral church of St. Germans after his removal of the sees of Crediton and Cornwall to his new cathedral city¹; but his encouragement of the Lotharingian constitution at Exeter points to a reform at St. Germans on similar lines, and it is probable that St. Germans was subjected to the later reform by which William Warelwast turned the colleges of canons at Launceston and Plympton into priories of regulars.²

At any rate, after the foundation of the priory of St. Botolph at Colchester in 1106, the line of division between secular or partially regular colleges and monasteries of canons regular became clearly marked. The bull of privileges granted to this house in 1116 by Paschal II, and addressed to Ernulf (or Eynulf, *i.e.* Eanwulf) the provost and the brethren of "the church of Christ of Colchester,"³ assumes its priority of place among houses of canons in England, and is a document of cardinal importance to students of Augustinian history. In certain of its features, as in the use of the title of provost applied to its head and traditional founder, we have indications of the imperfect and experimental stage in which the order then was constituted. The more material portions of this document may be quoted. After a preamble dealing with the favour extended by the apostolic see to religious foundations, it proceeds:

Wherefore it is not without desert that we esteem it meet to honour with the most bounteous rewards of our kindness your place⁴ or canonry, seeing that almighty God has planted certain excellent prerogatives in such place, according to the primitive form of the primitive Church, showing what the potter can do with the clay, the artificer with his material, and God with man. For, as we have learned from persons in religion, you have been the first of all men who have flourished in your country in the profession of canonical discipline, offering of your own free will to God your Creator the firstfruits of your bodies and souls. And therefore by the authority of this our second privilege we decree, that, as you have been the first who have done service

¹ *Monasticon*, ii, 467, 468.

² These reforms rest upon the authority of Leland (*Monasticon*, vi, 51, 211).

³ "Ernulpho praeposito, caeterisque dilectis filiis et fratribus ecclesiae Christi Colcestriae." The dedication to St. Julian and St. Botolph is not mentioned in the document. *Christi*, however, is omitted from the *incipit* of the bull given in the acts of the general chapter for 1509, in which *Eynulpho* appears as the name of the provost (Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 128). This latter form also occurs in the text of the bull in *Monasticon*, vi, 106, 107.

⁴ *Locus*, in the special sense in which the word is applied to religious foundations, corresponding to the English *stow*. Cf. such common titles of monasteries as *Novus Locus*, *Bellus Locus*, or *Locus Sancti Edwardi* (Shaftesbury and Netley), *Locus Regalis* (Rewley).

in this order in England, so also shall you be reckoned first in dignity in the same; so that wheresoever [by reason of] the negligence of the brethren throughout the canonries in England there are signs of weakness, your authority, indued with power by us, may come to their aid. And if by chance any of your brethren, at the impulse of the devil, declines from this order to imitate secular customs or [some other] religious order, he shall be recalled, wherever he may be found, by the authority of the provost of Colchester aforesaid, and be punished with the penalty due to an apostate and a renegade from his former service. And so shall all the other canonries be ruled by the pattern of your life and canonical profession. Let wise persons be chosen from your number; so chosen, let them be distributed throughout the canonries; and so distributed, let them be put over single houses, if there is need, so that in all places wherein the canonical discipline flourishes in full strength, your authority in matters concerning the rule may with our sanction be supreme.¹

This is followed by the confirmation to St. Botolph's of the churches of the Holy Trinity in London² and of St. Leonard at Colchester, which had been given to the priory by Queen Maud, by the grant of the privilege of exemption from episcopal authority, and by directions for the election of future priors. While the bull contains no mention of the rule of St. Austin, the convent is referred for the special duties of canons regular to the letters addressed by the saint to Pope Aurelius,³ from which it may be doubted whether, even in 1116, the rule had been generally accepted.

The scheme contemplated by Pope Paschal was an association of English "canonries" in close filial relation to St. Botolph's,

¹ "Unde non immerito estimamus locum sive canonicam vestram amplioribus nostrae benignitatis muneribus honorandam, quam (*sic*) omnipotens Deus ad formam ecclesiae primitivae primitivam in loco huiusmodi quaedam eximia praerogativa plantavit, ostendens quid possit figulus in luto, plastes in plasmate, Deus in homine. Primi enim omnium, ut a religiosis personis accepimus, canonicae religionis professores in patria vestra floruitis, primicias corporum et animarumstrarum conditori Deo spontanei optulistis. Et ideo hujus secundi privilegii nostri auctoritate decernimus, ut, sicut in hoc ordine primi in Anglia militastis ita quoque dignitate ipsius primi semper habeamini, ut ubicunque per canonicas in Anglia [propter] fratrum negligentiam sentitur imbecillitas, vestra per nos potens succurrat auctoritas. Et si forte instinctu diaboli quilibet fratrum, causa seculi vel ordinis imitandi, ab hoc ordine lapsus fuerit, Colcestrensis praefati auctoritate revocetur, ubicunque reperiat, et apostatae ac desertoris militiae prioris poena plectatur. Ad formam itaque vitae vel institutionis canonicae vestrae, ceterae omnes regantur. Hinc personae sapientes eligantur, electae per canonicas distribuuntur, distributae, si opus est, locis singulis praeferantur, ut in omnibus quibus in locis canonicae religionis viget integritas, supermineat vestra per nos regularis auctoritas." There are several corrupt readings in the printed copy: I have introduced such emendations as are obviously needed.

² See below, p. 16.

³ "Quum autem huic ordini a patribus nostris dispensatio verbi Dei, praedicationis officium, baptismus, reconciliatio poenitentium semper credita fuerit, sicut est videre in tractatibus S. Augustini ad Aurelium papam (*sic*)."
Aurelius was not pope, but the bishop of Carthage, to whom St. Augustine dedicated his book, *De Opere Monachorum*.

to which the language of the document assigns an autocratic position more like that of Cluny among its dependent houses than the constitutional presidency which, three years later (1119), was given to Cîteaux by the Charter of Charity. Although St. Botolph's held an honoured place among Augustinian houses, its claim to such a primacy does not seem to have been enforced, and there is no trace of it in the organisation of provincial chapters which came into being at a much later date.¹ There were other houses which might lay claim to an earlier foundation. Thus Haughmond in Shropshire is said to have been founded in 1100,² and the settlement of canons at Nostell may have taken place before 1106.³ The bull itself was the second issued by the pope to St. Botolph's,⁴ and the privileges granted by it are not definitely stated to be granted for the first time: it may merely confirm the tenor of its predecessor in fuller detail. At all events other houses had come into existence by 1116, which show no sign of connexion with the priory at Colchester. In 1112, for example, Pain Peverel had refounded the small college of canons regular, which had been established in the church of St. Giles at Cambridge as early as 1092, on a new site in the suburb of Barnwell.⁵ How far this college differed from the ordinary minsters existing in centres of population at the same date it would be difficult to say; and Peverel, when he came into his possessions in Cambridgeshire, found the church desolate, so that the canons whom he removed in 1112 from St. Giles' to Barnwell were apparently regulars to whom he had given a temporary home on the deserted site. Again, in 1113, Thomas II, archbishop of York, had placed canons regular in the church of Hexham, which had long lost its early monastic constitution.⁶ Although the number of English houses of canons in 1116 was not yet large, they were coming into independent being in widely distant parts of the country, without any trace of mutual connexion or of a system of affiliation.

The text of Paschal II's bull, as printed in *Monasticon*, subjects the church of the Holy Trinity in London, with other churches, to

¹ The name of the prior of St. Botolph's does not occur among those of the presidents at the provincial chapters of which we have record. At Leicester, in 1509, the prior was ordered to submit to visitation, and surrendered the bulls under colour of which he had pleaded exemption (Salter, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 128).

² *Monasticon*, vi, 108; the English account, *ibid.*, vi, 107, gives 1110.

³ Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, iii, 133, points out that the first settlement may have taken place at any time between 1093 and c. 1114. The date is discussed below, pp. 24-27, and it will be seen that there is no reason for pushing back the foundation to a date many years before 1114; the limiting dates given by Farrer represent merely the period within which it was possible for Robert de Lacy to assume the position of founder.

⁴ See the words, "hujus secundi privilegii nostri," in the passage quoted on p. 14, note 1.

⁵ *Monasticon*, vi, 86. See the discussion of the foundation charter by Frere, *op. cit.*

⁶ Rich. of Hexham II, viii (ap. *The Priory of Hexham* [Surtees Soc.], i, 54), gives the date as 1 Nov., 1113.

the canons of St. Botolph's.¹ If the statement that Queen Maud "commended" the church in London to St. Botolph's is true, no actual subjection followed as a consequence. The priory of the Holy Trinity or Christchurch without Aldgate was founded in 1107, its actual founders being Richard of Beames, bishop of London, and Norman, the first prior.² The grant of endowments by Maud, the first wife of Henry I, however, gave the patronage of the monastery to the Crown, which was thus regarded as the founder. A charter of Henry III, granted in 1226-7, embodies the purport of charters of Maud and her husband and of their grandson, Henry II, by which the priory was freed from subjection to all other churches, except to the cathedral church of St. Paul and the jurisdiction of the bishop. Although this does not exclude the commendation of the monastery to St. Botolph's as an object of maternal interest, such commendation could hardly have been made without implying a certain degree of subjection. As a matter of fact, the church whose claims to authority over the priory were specially repudiated by these charters was the church of Waltham.³ Whether Waltham, as a royal free chapel, served by canons whose constitution was quasi-regular, had endeavoured to assert some control over this new royal "canonry," or whether the claim was the result of some proprietary interest of the canons of Waltham in the site, is uncertain. The fact remains that the charter of Maud, whether granted in 1107 or rather later, put the church under the jurisdiction, not of any superior religious house, but of the bishop of the diocese; and this provision, with its repeated confirmations, removed it from the control of any such primacy as the bull assigned to St. Botolph's.

In examining the origin of these communities, the prominence which is assumed by grants of churches in their endowments cannot escape notice. In this particular there was a certain continuity between monasteries of canons regular and the less strictly organised "canonries" of the earlier period. It is demonstrable that the minsters, secular or loosely regular, of the era before the Conquest, were centres from which parochial ministrations were supplied to neighbouring churches. The church of Dorchester in Oxfordshire, the see of a bishop during the later Saxon period, was given by Alexander, the third of the Norman bishops of Lincoln, to August-

¹ "Ecclesiam S. Trinitatis Londini, quam vobis Matilda regina commendavit, cum ecclesia S. Leonardi, et caeteris quas habetis obedientiis, vestri juris esse praecipimus" (*Monasticon*, vi, 106). The church of St. Leonard appears to be that of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, to which the priory of Holy Trinity made an unsuccessful claim *temp.* Henry II (Newcourt, *Rep.*, i, 685). Newcourt (ii, 165) quotes the passage, but makes no comment upon it.

² *Monasticon*, vi, 150, 152. Newcourt (i, 557) gives the date as 1108, which may be that of the first royal charter. He quotes Stow's statement that Norman was the first canon regular in England, and his own date for the foundation of St. Botolph's was 1110 (*cf.* ii, 165), though he gives no reason for it.

³ "Quod praedicta ecclesia Sanctae Trinitatis libera sit et quietata ab omni subjectione, tam ecclesiae de Waltham, quam omnium aliarum ecclesiarum, praeterquam ecclesiae Sancti Pauli, London, ac episcopi . . . secundum tenorem cartarum M. reginae fundatricis ejusdem ecclesiae Sanctae Trinitatis," etc. (*Monasticon*, vi, 153).

tinian canons. We are not told if this implied the expulsion of the secular body which may have continued to occupy the church after the transference of the see to Lincoln, and it is quite possible that the existing inmates consented to adopt the rule. Such light as is thrown upon the history of the abbey by later documents shows that the internal life of the house was not unlike that of a community of seculars, and this may have been a consistent feature of its organisation.¹ At any rate, the abbey church was the centre of a number of parishes which lay within its peculiar jurisdiction, and depended upon it to supply them with spiritual ministrations. We also have definite evidence that these cures of souls were at any rate occasionally served by canons of the monastery, who at times were actually resident in the villages.² Similar evidence comes from Nutley Abbey, not far distant from Dorchester, and although in both of these instances the churches dependent upon the monastery formed an unusually compact collection, it is not uncommon to find parish churches served by canons regular at a considerable distance from the house to which they belonged.³ This is exactly the principle of the pre-Conquest minster of canons. If seculars were ousted from certain churches, the canons regular who took their place succeeded to their parochial responsibilities, and from the grants of churches made to newly-founded houses, we may infer that the ideal contemplated in the earlier churches was maintained in their successors. Such a wholesale gift of the parish churches of a town as was made to Leicester Abbey in 1143, implies that the monastery was expected to be responsible for their cures,⁴ and examples of this kind may be multiplied from other places.

This system was obviously difficult to observe, if proper importance was to be attached to the communal life and services of the monastery. Canons engaged in parochial work were clearly unable to perform their monastic duties with any regularity, while the life of a canon in a country parish naturally tended to obliterate the distinction which separated him from the ordinary secular priest, if his cure was at any distance from his monastery. Either the

¹ Leland remarked that, in his day, the church was still called "præbendalis ecclesia," "the prebend church" (*Monasticon*, vi, 324). The canons of Dorchester, as already noted (p. 3, note 2), were subordinate to Arrouaise.

² See *Visitations of Religious Houses* (Lincoln Record and Cant. and York Soc.), ii, 82, 83, and cf. *ibid.*, 79.

³ Nutley was also Arroasian. The foundation endowment included seven parish churches, given by Walter Giffard, earl of Buckingham, and his wife, and described as "universas ecclesias . . . quae nostrae erant donationis, necdum deputatae erant religioni" (*Monasticon*, vi, 278). In none of these was a vicarage ordained, and four of them, with the chapels attached to two, were in the immediate neighbourhood of the abbey. In 1447 one of the canons was serving the church of Chilton as parish chaplain (*Visitations of Relig. Houses*, u.s., iii, 36), and probably the others were served in the same way. The house also held the appropriated church of Sheringham in Norfolk, and habitually kept a canon there (*ibid.*, iii, 35, etc.).

⁴ The founder's gifts, according to the rehearsal compiled in the fifteenth century, included "ecclesias . . . omnes Leicestriae, tam infra muros quam extra, quae sunt suae dicionis" (*Monasticon*, vi, 464).

monastery or the parish was bound to suffer neglect: in any case, there was little guarantee for the security of the regular life in this division of duties. The papal legislation of the later twelfth and the thirteenth centuries drew the cords of the canonical life tighter, in the interest of both institutions involved in this paradox.¹ The reasonable theory which required monks to serve appropriated parish churches by secular chaplains was extended to canons regular with equal strictness, so as to assimilate the canonical to the monastic system, and was applied and enforced by bishops whose zeal for reform was quickened by a sense of the contradiction between the ideals of a monastery and the functions of a parish priest.² In spite of this levelling-up of the religious orders to one standard, the anomaly was not wholly done away with. At no time did Premonstratensian canons relinquish the custom of appointing members of their houses to parochial cures.³ The earliest decree for the ordination of a vicarage in the diocese of York refers to the church of Kirkby Malham, appropriated in 1205 to the Premonstratensian abbey of West Dereham in Norfolk: in 1275-6 Archbishop Giffard instituted as vicar a canon of that far distant house, and this precedent was consistently followed in the appointment of his successors.⁴ There is no indication that the canons of Dorchester or Nutley were forced to put their parish churches in the hands of seculars. Those

¹ There is actually no constitution which forbids religious houses to supply members of their body to serve parochial cures. The constitution *Monachi*, issued at the Lateran Council of 1179, forbids a solitary monk to be put in charge of a parish church (Extra. lib. iii, tit. xxxv, c. 2), but does not preclude him from the cure, if he has other brethren with him. This, again, is the point of Othobon's constitution *Monachos*: the secular incumbent is necessary only if the funds of the monastery are insufficient to support two monks or canons in a parish church. The constitution of the fourth Lateran Council, *Exstirpandae*, dealt with the provision of vicars in appropriated churches, and did not touch the question of regular vicars (Extra. iii, v, 30). Although, in the decretal *Quod Dei* (*ibid.*, iii, xxxv, 5), Innocent III admitted that canons regular were not on quite the same footing as monks, he yet required a parish priest who had been professed in a religious house to have a canon with him at his cure, *ad cautelam*. This is one of the passages upon which John of Ayton, commenting upon the legatine constitution *Monachos*, founds his opinion that it is lawful for a single religious person to be instituted to a cure of souls. But in practice, where a vicarage was ordained, bishops interpreted the law as unfavourable to the institution of regular vicars, and inserted a clause providing for the institution of a secular in the decree of ordination.

² See, e.g., the ordination of vicarages in five churches appropriated to Dunstable Priory (*Ann. Monast.* [Rolls Ser.], iii, 20; and cf. *Liber Antiquus Hug. Welles*, Lincoln, 1888, p. 20).

³ The lists of canons in the visitation records printed in *Collectanea Anglo-Praemonstratensia* (Camden Soc., 3rd ser.), ii, iii, habitually contain notes of those acting as vicars in parish churches. For a brief analysis of some of this information see *Trans. Thoroton Soc.*, xxiii, 46-48: the general conclusion is that, where such vicars resided on their cures, each had another canon with him as his *socius*.

⁴ For the ordination, see *York Reg. Giffard* (Surtees Soc.), pp. 255, 256: it was made by Geoffrey Plantagenet in 1205. Giffard, in confirming it, added a clause by which the institution of a canon was sanctioned, thus anticipating the *dictum* of John of Ayton mentioned above (p. 18, note 1), which allows the legality of such an institution, if the bishop and abbot consent to it.

appropriated to the priories of St. Frideswide at Oxford and Chetwode, in the same district, were continually served by canons of their respective houses. The natural result was that there arose opportunities, as time went on, for a considerable relaxation of strictness in this respect. Especially after the great pestilences of the fourteenth century, when there was difficulty in filling vacant cures, the regular clergy were admitted to vicarages with increasing frequency. Archbishop Zouche, instituting a canon of St. Oswald's to the vicarage of Tickhill in 1349, expressly intimated that this was due to exigency, and must not be taken to constitute a precedent¹; in spite of which proviso the act was repeated without comment at some subsequent vacancies. Thus, while the parochial ministrations of canons regular were checked for a time, they were never wholly suppressed, even in face of the requirements of canon law. An Augustinian canon, in undertaking a cure of souls, might reasonably plead that in so doing he was fulfilling the intentions of St. Austin himself, and that, whatever later popes had seen fit to decree, those intentions had been sanctioned by the early promoters of twelfth-century canonries, as by Pope Paschal in his privilege to the canons of Colchester.²

Thus the canonical movement of the twelfth century had little difficulty in grafting the new rule upon existing establishments of canons.³ Moribund "canonries" were revived, as in Pain Peverel's foundation of Barnwell. Canons who made no pretence of following a regular life were expelled and their places taken by fresh communities, frequently in houses founded on new sites. Thus Newnham Priory succeeded to the possessions of the secular church of St. Paul at Bedford⁴; and canons from Dorchester were brought to Lilleshall, the abbey which took the place of the collegiate church of St. Alkmund at Shrewsbury.⁵ Where seculars were dispossessed, compensation was granted. We have seen that at Waltham, in spite of the dissolute conduct attributed to the canons, they were given the expectation of other benefices.⁶ When Bishop Warelwast

¹ York Reg. Zouche, fo. 36d. "Te . . . ad vicariam . . . vacantem, que per capellanium secularem solita est gubernari, pro raritate personarum secularium per plagam mortalitatis iminentem de medio sublatarum ista dumtaxat vice supplenda admittimus."

² See the passage referring to parochial duties quoted p. 14 above, note 3. The privilege granted by Urban II to the abbey of Soissons, c. 1095, quoted by Frere, *op. cit.*, p. 189, is quite explicit in its permission of the tenure of parochial cures, with all their responsibilities, by canons.

³ Dr. Frere, *u.s.*, pp. 187, 188, distinguishes between communities of secular canons brought under the corporate discipline of a regular life, and communities of regulars founded to take charge of parish churches. This general distinction, however, is qualified by the fact that the first process took place in several communities which were already in charge of parishes.

⁴ *Monasticon*, vi, 374.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vi, 262. Cf. the connexion of Oseney Abbey with the secular chapel of St. George in Oxford Castle (*ibid.*, vi, 250, 251).

⁶ "Ut canonicis secularibus ecclesiae de Waltham pro qualitate praebendarum suarum alias provideretur" (*ibid.*, vi, 63). It may be noted that, in the foundation charter of the early college of canons at Waltham, there is no mention of parish churches as part of the endowment. The inference is that

introduced regulars at Plympton in 1123, the canons of the prebendal church are said to have been merely transferred to a college specially founded for their accommodation in the church of Bosham in Sussex, an outlying possession of the see of Exeter,¹ where, however, obnoxious they might be to their neighbour, the bishop of Chichester, who coveted this Naboth's vineyard at his very doors,² they were conveniently out of sight of their distant diocesan. Occasionally the attempt to transform a secular community was a partial failure or was deferred. Although an effort was made to found a house of canons at Dover in place of the seculars who had served the church of St. Mary and looked after the cure of souls of the town, this came to nothing, and after an interval of some years, the priory of Dover was established as a Benedictine house dependent upon Christchurch at Canterbury.³

The story of one such transformation, told in some detail, refers to a priory church which is among the most noble monuments of English architecture, and may be summarised as a final illustration of this part of our subject.⁴ At the close of the eleventh century there was a college of secular canons, twenty-four in number, at Twynham, on the south coast of Hampshire, presided over by a priest named Godric, who bore the title of senior and patron of the establishment. It had been founded before the Conquest, and its dedication to the Holy Trinity was superseded in popular speech, as was very general in such cases, by the alternative appellation of Christchurch,⁵ the name now borne by the town which has grown up beside it. The constitution was of the Lotharingian type: each canon had an equal share in the oblations, except those at the daily morrow mass and high mass, which were the perquisites of the senior,⁶ and the lands of the church were also held in shares. The famous Ranulf Flambard obtained a grant of this church and the adjacent vill from William Rufus. As dean of the college, a title which was previously unknown there, and as lord of the place, he actively promoted the building of a new church, as a thank-offering for many signs of the divine favour shown to him there. To this end he persuaded the canons to surrender the oblations which came from pilgrims and the whole parish, except those offered in kind, until the fabric was completed, promising meanwhile to find their vic-

the college was intended for purely monastic purposes. But it can hardly be doubted that churches are included in the appurtenances of some of the seventeen vills granted in 1062, and Henry II's charter of refoundation mentions churches in six of these cases.

¹ *Ibid.*, vi, 51; but there seems to be no original evidence for the statement.

² *Cal. Papal Letters*, ii, 149, 150.

³ *Monasticon*, iv, 534 *sqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, vi, 303.

⁵ *Cf.* the cases of Holy Trinity or Christchurch priories in London and Ipswich. Instances of this alternative dedication are numerous, *e.g.* the cathedral churches of Canterbury and Norwich, and parish churches in Bristol, York, etc.

⁶ Oblations, however, were taken in their entirety by every canon celebrating mass, if offered "*post cappae suae oblationem, quousque eam indueret.*"

tuals. Some opposition was shown by Godric, who left the place and wandered up and down England, seeking redress in vain. Eventually he asked pardon and was restored to his former position.

Flambard, whose reputation for rapacity is more generally celebrated than his piety, was nevertheless genuinely zealous in church-building, as his work at Durham afterwards showed. He set about destroying the old church and the adjacent buildings: the account of these proceedings incidentally mentions that within the churchyard there were nine churches in addition to the principal one,¹ an interesting statement which points to a primitive type of foundation, in which the services of the community were conducted in a number of separate chapels. Meanwhile, as the canons died off, he made no new appointments, intending, when they came to an end, to make over the church to a religious order. Five canons only were left, when Flambard, falling into disgrace with Henry I, was deprived of his possessions. The church was given to a clerk named Gilbert, who went on with the work of building, and made a journey to Rome to obtain a bull authorising the establishment of a body of regular canons. On his way home he died, and his intention was frustrated. Gilbert appears to have succeeded Flambard only as dean or administrator of the almost moribund college, for Henry I had granted the lordship of Christchurch with the advowson to Richard de Redvers, who, on Gilbert's decease, presented Peter Oglander to the church. During the lifetime of this clerk, he and his secular companions appropriated its handsome revenues to their own use, doing nothing towards the prosecution of the building.² On Peter's death his associates seized the revenues and appear to have succeeded in retaining them. Fortunately, Hilary, a clerk of the bishop of Winchester, obtained the deanery a few years later, and, on his promotion to the see of Chichester in 1147, seems to have left all things in order for the introduction of canons regular, which was effected by Baldwin de Redvers and his son, Richard. The interest of this story lies in the continuity of the college throughout these vicissitudes. Though the object of Flambard, in which he almost succeeded, was to empty the old college to make way for the new convent of canons, there was no formal expulsion of seculars such as took place at Waltham later, and even the *clerici adventitii* whom Peter Oglander brought in appear to have been gently treated.

Although the canonical movement affected the North of England to the extent that a considerable number of canons' houses were founded in the northern dioceses, the conversion of existing secular colleges into regular monasteries, either by expulsion of the occu-

¹ "Fregit vero episcopus illius loci primitivam ecclesiam, novemque alias quae infra cimiterium steterant."

² The Latin of the original is intricate and there are probably some errors in the printed edition. "Praescriptus igitur Petrus, sinistra imbutus ambitione proh dolor! universa operi ecclesiae, more antiquorum, et canonicis quinque inventis pro oblationibus ad ecclesiae perfectionem commodatis promissa subtraxit, sibi suisque clericis secum adductis mensam curialem vita ejus concedendo superstite, in suos et illorum transferendo usus, non canonicè sed potestative distribuit."

pants or by a more gentle form of transformation, was not characteristic of the district. The first three archbishops of York after the Conquest were seculars themselves, and two of them had held dignities in Norman secular chapters. Thomas of Bayeux found the four great churches of his diocese organised upon the quasi-monastic principle of the later Saxon period. Of these York at any rate had suffered seriously from the disturbances which had culminated in the wasting of the North by William I in 1069. Thomas, on coming to his see in the following year, put the few remaining canons under the control of a provost, and subsequently remodelled the constitution of the church upon the lines with which he was familiar in Normandy, appointing a dean and establishing the other dignities of a fully developed secular chapter.¹ We have already noted the conservative character of the medieval constitutions of Ripon and Beverley, which grew upon a basis of pre-Conquest tradition²; and at Southwell, though the medieval chapter adhered less closely to the original pattern, there was no breach in continuity.³ The weight of authority was upon the side of secular chapters, and the rivalry between the two metropolitan sees naturally encouraged the archbishops of York to maintain a system which found less favour in the southern province, where the influence of Lanfranc and Anselm was on the side of monastic discipline. During the pontificate of Turstin (1119-1140), the spread of monasticism in Yorkshire was as active as in any part of England, and was encouraged by the archbishop, but without affecting secular foundations. Indeed, Turstin's protection of the monks of Fountains in their secession from St. Mary's at York was probably prompted as much by his desire to control a Benedictine house, which was never amenable to episcopal authority, as by his admiration for the piety of the seceders.⁴

There were two exceptions to this general line of policy, but both in places which, though members of the diocese of York, were isolated from it. Thomas II, as we have said, founded a monastery of canons regular in the church of Hexham. In this case the old community had died out altogether, and its place had been taken by a succession of individual priests, who held the benefice from father to son.⁵ The other instance is the conversion of the small secular minster of St. Oswald's at Gloucester into a house of Austin canons. Here, far from York, and locally situated in another province, the canons

¹ This is the process indicated by the account in *Chron. Pontif. Ebor.* (*Hist. Ch. York*, ii, 362).

² Pp. 10, 11 above.

³ The origin of the chapter of Southwell is discussed by A. F. Leach in his introduction to *Vis. and Mem. Southwell* (Camden Soc.), pp. xxv sqq. The same writer's searching examination of the constitution of Beverley in the introduction to *Beverley Chapter Act-Book* (Surtees Soc.), i, is one of the most valuable contributions to the history of early secular chapters.

⁴ See the chronicle printed in *Mem. Fountains* (Surtees Soc.), i, and partially in *Monasticon*, v, 292 sqq.

⁵ A full account is given by Raine in the preface to *The Priory of Hexham*, i, pp. lv sqq.

appear to have been dispersed in the reign of Stephen, and to have sought refuge from the troubles of the epoch upon the estates which belonged to their separate prebends. About 1150 Henry Murdac, the Cistercian archbishop whose appointment had been fiercely contested by the future St. William and his secular supporters, reconstituted the church as a regular monastery which, with the territory attached to it, remained under the jurisdiction of York until the reign of Henry VIII.¹ It was probably felt, in both these instances, that the policy of establishing regular monasteries under archiepiscopal control in distant *enclaves* of the diocese was wiser than the formation of secular chapters with the large liberties and privileges which were acquired by the secular churches of York, Beverley, Ripon, and Southwell.

Of the suffragan sees of the province Carlisle was not founded till 1133, and its cathedral church was a church of canons regular. Here, however, a community in whose early constitution the parochial ministrations of canons had played a large part seems to have acquired a more strictly monastic character without any revolutionary change.² Neither in this nor in the diocese of Durham did regular canons supersede seculars, although, as at Bamburgh, small communities were occasionally introduced into parish churches.³ In Durham, indeed, the great influence of the Benedictine chapter of the cathedral church within the confines of the bishopric proper admitted of no rivalry; and bishops who, when seculars themselves, were seldom in complete harmony with their chapter, pursued the policy of encouraging and strengthening secular colleges.⁴

Thus the houses of regular canons founded in Yorkshire had no earlier history. Of the eleven which existed at the time of the Dissolution, the priory of St. Oswald at Nostell was the earliest in date, and had come into being at any rate somewhere between 1109 and 1114, if not earlier.⁵ The priory of St. Mary at Bridlington was also in existence before the death of Archbishop Thomas II, in 1113-14.⁶ Embsay, the parent of Bolton, is specifically stated to have been founded in 1120.⁷ This was followed by St. Mary's at

¹ See the present writer's article, *The Jurisdiction of the Archbishops of York in Gloucestershire, with some notes on the history of the priory of St. Oswald at Gloucester*, ap. *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Archaeol. Soc.*, xliii, 85-180.

² The late Canon Wilson, of Carlisle, published in *Scottish Hist. Review*, xvii, 199-218, an admirable account of *The Constitutional Growth of Carlisle Cathedral*, in which he attempted to distinguish between the canons engaged in the work of the monastery, and the non-resident members of the community who served its parish churches.

³ For Bamburgh see *Northumb. Co. Hist.*, i.

⁴ See Bek's ordination of the colleges of Lanchester, Auckland, and Chester-le-Street, ap. *Monasticon*, vi, 1333-1339.

⁵ See p. 15 above, note 3, and the discussion below, pp. 24-27.

⁶ Farrer, *E.Y.C.*, ii, 445, commenting upon a charter of the archbishop of which an abstract is given in *Chartul. Bridlington*, ed. Lancaster, p. 431.

⁷ *Monasticon*, vi, 203.

Guisbrough in 1129,¹ by the Holy Trinity at Kirkham about 1130,² and by St. James' at Warter in 1132.³ The priory of St. Nicholas at Drax was founded by William Paynell, before the end of the reign of Henry I.⁴ St. Mary's at Newburgh followed in 1145,⁵ and St. Mary's at Marton probably shortly afterwards.⁶ After a long interval St. John the Evangelist's at Healaugh Park, which had an earlier monastic career, was occupied by Austin canons in 1218,⁷ and finally, in 1326, the monastery which had been established not long before at Cottingham, and colonised by canons from Bourne in Lincolnshire, was removed to the site which received the name of Hautenprise, or Haltemprice.⁸

The story of the foundation of the priory of St. Oswald is not easy to unravel, and the actual date of the settlement of canons there cannot be ascertained. The charter of confirmation granted by Henry I, the date of which lies between 1121 and 1127, states definitely that canons regular had been settled in the church of St. Oswald by the hand of Archbishop Turstin.⁹ But the same document also states that Robert de Lacy had given them the site of the church¹⁰; and as this cannot have been after the banishment of Robert, which took place about 1114, five years or so before Turstin became archbishop,¹¹ the actual foundation must have taken place in 1114 at latest, though it is possible that the community did not enter into occupation at once. The earlier date is borne out by a charter of Thomas II, archbishop of York 1109-1113-4, notifying an agreement by which the monks of La Charité, the house upon which the Cluniac priory of Pontefract depended, and the priests of Featherstone quitclaimed their right in the church of St. Oswald, so that canons regular should serve God there and have a churchyard

¹ Farrer, *op. cit.*, ii, 28, 29, accepts this date, given by Walter of Hemingbrough, and gives reasons for rejecting the authenticity of documents in *Chartul. Guisbrough* (Surtees Soc.), which point to an earlier date.

² See *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 219. The date of foundation was anterior to that of Walter Espec's abbey at Rievaulx, founded in 1131.

³ *Monasticon*, vi, 298.

⁴ *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 205.

⁵ *Monasticon*, vi, 320.

⁶ The exact date is unknown: see *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 223. The original institution of this priory as a double monastery of canons and nuns, on the lines attempted at Arrouaise and Prémontré, was not connected with the Gilbertine movement. The removal of the nuns to Moxby took place after the beginning of the reign of Henry II.

⁷ *Monasticon*, vi, 439.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vi, 519 *sqq.*

⁹ Farrer, *op. cit.*, iii, 130: "Ecclesiam igitur Beati Oswaldi regis et martiris que juxta castellum Pontisfracti in loco qui dicitur Nostlay super vivarium sita est et in qua canonici regulares ad serviendum Deo viventi per manum venerabilis Turstini Eboracensis archiepiscopi constituti sunt, regie potestatis auctoritate confirmo."

¹⁰ *Ibid.* "Dimidiam vero carucatam terre in qua predicta ecclesia sita est et eidem ecclesie adjacet . . . quam simul terram Robertus de Lasceyo eis dedit et concessit et Radulfus Grammaticus."

¹¹ *Ibid.*, iii, 133; *cf.* p. 15 above, note 3.

for the use of themselves, their servants, and all persons dwelling near them in the place called Nostlec. In return, the "clerks" of St. Oswald released to the church of Featherstone all the ecclesiastical customs which they had from West Hardwick.¹ The inference is that before 1114 a body of clerks had settled at Nostell on a site given them by Robert de Lacy,² with the intention of adopting the canonical rule and founding a monastery. The full completion of their plans was possibly disturbed by the banishment of their patron. Their church was begun by 1122, the latest date to which a charter of Henry I can be attributed, which gives them leave to build their church above the fishpond, where they have begun to make it, and, as this agrees fairly well with the probable date of the same king's general charter of confirmation, it may be assumed that their work and their formal adhesion to the canonical life received confirmation from Turstin soon after his accession to the see of York in 1119. The long delay which took place between the appointment and the consecration of Turstin no doubt postponed the full recognition of the monastery.

There is a circumstantial story told in a fifteenth-century chronicle of the house, still preserved at Nostell Priory, and quoted by Burton in the *Monasticon Eboracense*,³ which attributes it to a certain Ralph Aldlaue, chaplain and confessor of Henry I. The person endowed with this unusual name is said to have fallen ill during a journey from Scotland with the king, and to have stayed at Pontefract till he recovered. During his convalescence he came across a body of hermits in a neighbouring wood, and was seized with the desire to join their company. Eventually, with the king's consent, he took over the charge of the establishment, and, taking the habit of an Austin canon, founded it as a priory of the order, to which the king in 1121 granted an allowance of twelve pence a day out of his exchequer. The account goes on to say that Ralph died on 12 May, 1128, and was buried at the "old place,"⁴ i.e. the site on which he found the hermits and first settled.

This account contains nothing improbable, and, even if it be not wholly true, there are some elements of truth in it. The late Dr. William Farrer has pointed out, in his notes upon the charter of confirmation granted by Henry I, that there is evidence that the royal gifts recorded in it, with certain items of property not included

¹ Farrer, *E.Y.C.*, iii, 160: see the editor's note for an error in the name of the archbishop in the Nostell Chartulary.

² *Ibid.*, iii, 129.

³ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.*, p. 300. A translation of the material portion of the passage is given by Farrer, *op. cit.*, iii, 134. By the courtesy of Mr. Croft, the agent at Nostell Park, the present writer has been able to inspect the original, which is a late 15th cent. copy of a document compiled about a century earlier and occurs in a book containing copies of charters, monastic accounts and other memoranda of a miscellaneous kind. Burton's account of the contents of the passage is accurate in all essential points, but he misread the name of the principal person concerned in the foundation as "Adlave," in which he has, of course, been followed by subsequent writers.

⁴ "Apud veterem locum." See note on *locus*, p. 13 above, note 4.

in its terms, were made in 1121; and the fifteenth-century chronicler gives 10 January, 1121, as the date on which Henry I confirmed the possessions of the priory, *i.e.* 10 January, 1122, if the ordinary reckoning is implied.¹ These dates are quite probable. On the other hand the story of the hermits belongs to the region of common form, and may be compared with the account of the foundation of Kirkstall and other houses.² It is quite clear, from what has been already said, that there was a religious house in existence at Nostell some years before Henry I took notice of it, and that if, about 1121, it was still poor and struggling, the description of its inmates as hermits must not be taken in a literal sense.³ The somewhat vague character of the whole anecdote, in spite of its circumstantial dates, discloses itself in the name attributed to the king's chaplain and confessor. The person meant is beyond all question Athelulf, who was prior of St. Oswald's, and became the first bishop of Carlisle in 1133, dying in 1157.⁴ If this cannot be reconciled with the statement that "Ralph Aldlaue" died in 1128, the natural inference is that, by the fifteenth century, his reputation had become confused with that of some other early member of the house, and that their names had been united in this way. Dr. Farrer is inclined to identify the name Ralph with the canon to whom Nigel de Albini about this time gave the site of the small priory of Hirst in the Isle of Axholme, to be held by the prior of St. Oswald's as a member of his house.⁵ This seems very probable. Whether, on the other hand, we can go so far as to assume that, in the description of "Ralph Aldlaue" by the chronicler as "the first governor, master, and rector *veteris loci*, as it is called, and of eleven brethren or monks," he was referring to an intermediate stage in the history of the house, before Athelulf became prior, is more doubtful. At any rate, the theory that Ralph may have been appointed to rule the house with some such title as rector, and that, after the buildings upon a new site above the fishpond were fit for habitation, Athelulf was made prior, while Ralph departed to rule the cell at Hirst, returning only to lay his bones in the "Old Place," is conjecture. The chronicler's use of terms is a somewhat obvious warning that his story must not be taken too literally.

We may sum up the legitimate inference with regard to the foundation of Nostell as follows. The first settlement took place before 1114, and was effected by a body of clerks, who occupied a chapel

¹ Farrer, *op. cit.*, iii, 133.

² For Kirkstall see *Monasticon*, v, 530, 532; also Thoresby Soc., iv, 169-208 (full text with translation).

³ It should be remembered, at the same time, that congregations of "hermits" belonging to no special order formed the nucleus of the "Ordo Eremitarum Sancti Augustini," or Austin Friars, which came into being in the thirteenth century. See Helyot, *op. cit.*, iii, ch. ii, iii.

⁴ Robert of Torigny (*Chron. of Reigns of Stephen*, etc. [Rolls Ser.], iv, 123) says that Athelulf was Henry I's confessor: "et posuit ibi episcopum primum Adalulfum, priorem canonicorum regularium Sancti Oswaldi, cui solitus erat confiteri peccata sua."

⁵ Farrer, *op. cit.*, iii, 134

on the site and made preparations for the establishment of a regular monastery.¹ Their community received the approval of Archbishop Thomas, and may have been recognised by his successor, Turstin, as early as 1119. After 1114, however, they remained in a poor and precarious condition until, probably by the persuasion of his confessor, Athelulf, Henry I took them into his favour and became a benefactor. In 1121 or 1122 they removed from their original site to a new one close by, on which they had already begun to build, and to this site they were formally admitted by the archbishop, with Athelulf as their first regular prior.

St. Oswald's, whatever may have been the complications of its early history, was in any case the first house of canons regular to be founded in Yorkshire, and this may excuse a somewhat lengthy discussion of its origin. In view of what has been already said of the endowment of houses of canons with parish churches and its object, we may examine the possessions of St. Oswald's from this standpoint. The charter of Henry I, as printed in *Monasticon*, is augmented by what appears to be a summary of a number of private grants, several of which were of later date, derived by the editor from various deeds in the chartulary and added as a gloss upon the king's general confirmation of individual gifts.² The only two churches mentioned in the original charter are the king's personal gift of the churches of St. Oswald and St. Aidan at Bamburgh, in Northumberland, and the archbishop's gift of that of Tickhill Castle, *i.e.* the parish church of Tickhill. Within a few years of the royal charter a number of churches had been given to the canons by various benefactors. The most important of these grants was made by Robert Fossard, in 1129 at latest, including the three churches of Bramham, Wharram-le-Street, and Lythe.³ Archbishop Turstin, when this grant came before him as diocesan, ordained that the three churches should be held as a prebend in the church of York, an arrangement upon which comment will be made shortly. At the same time he confirmed to the canons a number of churches in his diocese given by the king and other benefactors.

Turstin, by the grace of God archbishop of York, to all his successors, greeting. Be it known to you that I have given to the church of St. Oswald of Nostell and to the canons of the same place a single prebend⁴ in our metropolitan church of St. Peter of York, with the counsel and assent of the whole chapter of the same church. Now, that prebend consists of the church of Bramham, and of the church of Wharram, and of the church of

¹ They are called "clerici Sancti Oswaldi" in the charter of Thomas II (Farrer, *op. cit.*, iii, 160); but their object is clearly expressed in the clause, "ita quod canonici regulariter Deo ibidem serviant et habeant cimiterium ad opus suum et servientium suorum omniumque juxta eos habitantium in terra que dicitur Nostlec."

² *Monasticon*, vi, 92, 93; see Farrer, *op. cit.*, iii, 130, note 5.

³ Farrer, *op. cit.*, ii, 337, 338.

⁴ "Prebendam unam." So Robert Fossard's charter, *u.s.*: "De quibus scilicet ecclesiis . . . ad voluntatem et petitionem meam predictus Turstinus archiepiscopus caritatis intuitu unam constituit prebendam," etc.

Lythe. Moreover I have given them the church of the castle of Tickhill. I confirm also by the authority of our office the gifts that the king and other faithful folk of our diocese as well have made to the aforesaid church. Of the king's gift, the church of Knaresborough. Of Herbert son of Herbert and of William the treasurer of York, the church of Weaverthorpe, and of Gerbod son of Adelin, the church of Warmfield, which are both of the fee of St. Peter. Of Hugh de Laval, the church of Featherstone, and the church of Rothwell, and the church of Ackworth, and the church of Huddersfield, and the church of Batley. Of Sweyn son of Ailric, the church of Felkirk, and the church of Adwick, and half of the church of Mexborough. Of William, earl of Warenne, and of Ralph de Lisle, the church of Woodkirk. Of Picot de Percy, the church of Bolton. Of William de Arches the chapel of All Saints.¹

There is a second version of this document, in which South Kirkby is added to the churches given by Hugh de Laval.² The bare mention of the three prebendal churches is augmented by the inclusion of their chapels, liberties, and other appurtenances; the church of Tickhill, with its chapel of Stainton, is said to be of the king's gift; and the chapel of All Saints is localised as at Scokirk, and was otherwise known as the chapel of Tockwith.

From other benefactors St. Oswald's received a number of churches in other counties.³ With regard to its possessions outside Yorkshire we need observe only that in two churches cells were established, and that in both of these a conventual life was maintained, though on a small and perhaps not very strict scale. The canons of Bamburgh were governed by a canon with the title of master, which, it will be remembered, is one of the titles attributed to "Ralph Aldlaue" in the chronicle.⁴ At Breedon, in Leicestershire, where the church seems to have been planned for a convent of some size, the head of a priory which, in the fifteenth century, had become very small indeed, bore the title of prior.⁵ To each of these

¹ Farrer, *op. cit.*, iii, 161.

² *Ibid.*, iii, 161, 162.

³ These were Winwick (*S. Oswaldi de Macrefeld*), Lancs.; Leamington Hastings, Haseley, Newbold Pacey, and Whitnash, co. Warwick; Chebsey, co. Stafford; Charwelton, Northants; Cheddington, Bucks.; and Breedon-on-the-Hill (*Langelega*), co. Leicester. Of these, Breedon and Newbold Pacey alone were appropriated.

⁴ See, e.g., the list of those present in synod at Durham in 1517; "Magister de Bamburgh" is followed by "Magister de Carham," a church which stood in a similar relation to Kirkham Priory (*Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres* [Surtees Soc.], p. cccvii). The title is, of course, that employed for the heads of hospitals, which were frequently small establishments of canons.

⁵ The earliest institution of a prior of Breedon on record was in 1223 (*Rot. Hug. Welles* [Cant. and York Soc.], i, 290). The ordination of the vicarage requires the vicar to have two chaplains as his *socii*, from which it appears that there was an idea that the cure would be served by a canon of the cell. The first vicar, however, appears to have been a secular (*ibid.*, i, 245). See *Visitations of Religious Houses, u.s.*, ii, 40-42, for a visitation of this priory in its later days, with notes upon it.

churches was attached a large parish with more than one chapelry. Leamington Hastings, in Warwickshire, was one of a group of adjoining churches which might have been served without difficulty from a cell there; but no body of canons was sent to Leamington, and the priory lost its hold of some of the group, as well as of others given to it in its early days.¹ If the givers conceived it to be the duty of canons to supply ministrations from the mother-house and its cells to the churches in their vicinity, the duties which their grants implied, in scattered places at wide distances from each other, were beyond the capacity of a single convent which was unable to send off so many off-shoots without depriving the main stem of sustenance. It is noticeable, however, that, in the case of Hirst-in-Axholme, which was probably an early cell of St. Oswald's, the settlement was not connected with any previously existing church or chapel²; nor did it ever acquire a close relationship with the surrounding parishes.

The eighteen churches confirmed to the priory by Turstin in Yorkshire do not fall easily into compact groups. Ackworth, Featherstone, Warmfield, and Felkirk, however, lay in close proximity to the monastery, and South Kirkby was no great distance away. Of the others Woodkirk and Batley, and Adwick-on-Dearne and Mexborough, formed two pairs of closely adjacent churches, while Rothwell might be included in the Woodkirk group. The rest were isolated, for, although the chapel at Tockwith was not many miles from Knaresborough, communication between the two places, especially in winter, was neither direct nor easy. If, therefore, the intention of the donors was that these churches should be colonised by canons from Nostell, there was an opportunity for the establishment of a number of cells, some of which might have developed into large houses. As a matter of fact, two cells were founded, one at Woodkirk and the other in the chapel of Tockwith, or Scokirk; but there is no indication that these did more than serve the spiritual needs of those who lived within the districts attached to both.³ Further, although gifts of churches in frankalmoin were no doubt made with the implication that the convent to which they were granted would take measures to appropriate them, yet such gifts in themselves were merely transfers of advowsons. While Henry I's charter conveyed the churches of Bamburgh to the canons with the specific clause, "even as Algar the priest best held them,"⁴ and thereby put them in possession of the rectories, no such summary transfer of the rectorial rights was provided for by other gifts of the kind. If the parish churches given to the convent were to be served by its members, the obvious course for the convent to

¹ Farrer, *op. cit.*, iii, 132.

² *Monasticon*, vi, 101. The grant is simply one of a dwelling-place (*habitationem*) in Hirst, with the surrounding wood and marsh. The place was in the parish of Belton, the church of which never belonged to St. Oswald's: the advowson eventually came to Haltemprice Priory.

³ None of the other parish churches belonging to St. Oswald's appear to have been set aside for the maintenance of these cells.

⁴ "Sicut Algarus presbiter unquam eas melius tenuit."

take was to secure the appropriation of the rectories and apply their profits to the common fund, setting aside what was necessary for the proper maintenance of divine worship in each church. It does not appear that steps of this kind were taken till long after the foundation of the monastery, and at a period when ecclesiastical legislation had ceased to regard canons regular in the light of possible parish priests. The advowson of one of the churches close to Nostell, Ackworth, seems to have reverted to its original owners within no long time of the grant.¹ The remaining advowsons continued for some time in the possession of the canons, and it is possible that in some cases, with the exceptions of Bramham, Wharram-le-Street, and Lythe,² appropriation may have taken place earlier than the dates for which we have documentary evidence; for a formal deed of appropriation may be merely a confirmation of existing arrangements, with the view of removing irregularities. But the only churches of which we can say for certain that the monastery became wholly responsible for their government and services in the twelfth century, were those in which cells were founded, and the parochial chapel at Wragby, which was probably the successor of the early church of St. Oswald at the "Old Place."³

We have seen that confirmation of these grants by the diocesan formed part of the steps by which the monastery secured its spiritual possessions. The charter of Henry I freed St. Oswald's from all spiritual jurisdiction save that of the archbishop as ordinary.

Finally I . . . give and grant to the church of St. Oswald . . . the same liberty and the same laws and customs such as the mother church of Blessed Peter of York also has, except those matters which appertain to the jurisdiction of the court Christian and to the worship of the archiepiscopal dignity; the which liberty and custom the venerable Turstin, archbishop of York, granted to the same church of St. Oswald, freed from all exaction of episcopal custom, in ratified and inviolable possession.⁴

¹ Lawton, *Collections*, p. 83. Records of early institutions to the church of Ackworth are very deficient, but the pension of 40s. "nomine personatus" from the church to which a clerk was instituted in 1240 was in the patronage of the Lacy heir, then a ward of the Crown (*York Reg. Gray* [Surtees Soc.], p. 88).

² In spite of the union of Lythe church as a prebend with Bramham and Wharram-le-Street, it remained a separate benefice. It is probable that the handsome rent of 36 marks which the priory was receiving from the church in 1225 (*York Reg. Gray*, u.s., p. 4) implies a quitclaim of the advowson on the part of St. Oswald's. In 1232 a rector was presented by Peter de Mauley (*ibid.*, p. 56), and it remained in private hands until in 1544 it was appropriated to the archbishop of York. Lawton, *op. cit.*, p. 495, appears to have been somewhat perplexed by the grant to St. Oswald's, and his statement is misleading.

³ See p. 25 above, note 5.

⁴ "Denique ego . . . do et concedo ecclesie Sancti Oswaldi . . . eandem libertatem et easdem leges et consuetudines quales etiam habet matrix ecclesia beati Petri Eboracensis, preter ea que ad magisterium Christianitatis et reverentiam archiepiscopalis respiciunt dignitatis: quam nimirum libertatem et consuetudinem eidem ecclesie Sancti Oswaldi ab omni exactione episcopalis consuetudinis solute venerabilis Turstinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus ratam et inviolabilem possidendam concessit" (Farrer, *op. cit.*, iii, 132).

The exceptions, of course, gave the archbishop a controlling hand in the disposition of churches lying within his diocese in which the priory had an interest, and Turstin himself took the first step to regulate the relations between St. Oswald's and its parochial cures, by defining them as regarded the three churches granted by Robert Fossard. One of these was in the West, the second in the East, and the third in the North Riding; none of them were accessible from the priory; and appropriation would imply either that two canons must be permanently resident in each,¹ or that there would be risk of neglect to the cures of souls, at a time when the endowment of vicarages was as yet a purely arbitrary matter. Turstin appropriated them to the priory in such a way that it was excused all personal responsibility for cure of souls. By converting their revenues into a prebend in his cathedral church, to be held by the prior of St. Oswald's and his successors, he tacitly recognised the principle that the duty of a canon who held a parish church as his prebend in a cathedral or collegiate church was not to the parish church, but to the *major ecclesia*.² It is noteworthy that the same line of procedure was adopted in respect of the church of Salton in Ryedale, which, with the manor to which it was appendant, formed an outlying possession of the church of Hexham.³ Here manor and church together were constituted as a prebend, and the appropriation does not seem to have taken place, at any rate formally, until 1312.⁴ Thus the two Augustinian priors whose monasteries were the senior houses of their order in the diocese of York, obtained stalls in the cathedral church, where they were represented by vicars choral. Their responsibility for their churches was confined to the presentation of vicars to the dean and chapter for institution.

No record of the appropriation of the church of Featherstone has survived, and there is no entry of the appointment of a vicar either to this or to the church of Huddersfield until the fourteenth century.⁵ It is a legitimate inference that the prior and convent treated the churches as appropriated benefices from the beginning, and evaded or showed sufficient reason to excuse themselves from submitting them to episcopal ordination. Six of their churches, however, which in 1247 remained unappropriated, were in that year submitted to Archbishop Gray, in consequence of a difference of opinion between the canons and the dean and chapter of York.⁶

¹ See p. 18 above, note 1.

² Farrer, *op. cit.*, iii, 161, 162. The principle mentioned is laid down in *Exstirpandae* (Extra. III, v, 30).

³ The prebend of Salton appears to have been constituted by Turstin: see Rich. of Hexham ap. *The Priory of Hexham*, i, 58.

⁴ Lawton, *op. cit.*, pp. 535, 602.

⁵ There is an ordination of the vicarage of Huddersfield in the Nostell Chartulary. The advowson of Birstall, W.R., was acquired by the priory about 1289 (see *York Reg. Romeyn* [Surtees Soc.], i, 87), and the church was appropriated and a vicarage ordained in 1300, when St. Oswald's was suffering from the ravages wrought by the Scots at the cell of Bamburgh (*York Reg. Corbridge* [Surtees Soc.], i, 67-69).

⁶ *York Reg. Gray, u.s.*, pp. 205-208 (app. Nos. lxx, lxxi).

The prior and convent had obtained an indult from the pope to appropriate the churches of Bolton Percy, Rothwell, and South Kirkby, as soon as they fell vacant by the death or resignation of their rectors. Hitherto, their profits from these, and from the churches of Weaverthorpe, Tickhill, and Mexborough, had been confined to the receipt of annual pensions,¹ and, during vacancies, the sequestrations were administered in the usual way by the archbishop, or, in a vacancy of the see, by the dean and chapter.² It is obvious that the papal indult, granted without reference to the archbishop or the chapter, compromised this arrangement as regarded three of the churches, and to avoid litigation, the archbishop was invited to adjudicate, and settled the matter in a way which satisfied all parties concerned. Rothwell, South Kirkby, and Tickhill, were appropriated to the priory, which was to enter into possession at the next vacancy of each church.³ In compensation, the priory gave up its claim to the advowsons of the three other churches. The archbishop reserved to himself the presentation to Bolton Percy. The moiety of Mexborough was united to the archdeaconry of York, as a convenient means of supplying accommodation for the archdeacon, when he was on visitation in those parts; and Weaverthorpe was appropriated to the common fund of the dean and chapter. Vicarages were ordained in the three churches thus confirmed to the canons, while a separate vicarage was established in the parochial chapel of Stainton, hitherto dependent upon Tickhill.⁴ The archbishop retained his right of institution to these four vicarages, which were not allowed to be exempt from diocesan jurisdiction, and the pensions hitherto payable to St. Oswald's from the six rectories were suppressed. In 1252 followed the ordination of vicarages in the churches of Batley, Felkirk, and Warmfield. These, however, as previously noted, may be merely confirmations of existing custom.⁵

We have seen that the reasonable inference from papal legislation was that the vicars appointed to such incumbencies should be secular priests.⁶ In 1216, however, the prior and convent of St. Oswald's had an indult from Honorius III to place three or four of their

¹ Annual pensions of twenty and fifteen marks respectively had been granted to the canons, in consideration of their poverty, out of the churches of South Kirkby and Tickhill, early in Gray's pontificate (*ibid.*, pp. 128, 129; app. No. ii).

² This is not definitely stated in Gray's decree; but the obvious reason of the *praejudicium et gravamen* which the church of York expressed in connexion with the bull of appropriation was the prospective loss of the sequestrations without indemnity.

³ Vicars were instituted to South Kirkby and Rothwell in 1253, when the vicarages were ordained with brief statements. In neither case did the rector resign, and the vicars were actually presented by them; but the arrangement was evidently made as a preliminary to resignation, when the prior and convent would enter into both rectories (*Reg. Gray, u.s.*, pp. 115, 117).

⁴ There was a new ordination of this vicarage in 1440-1, when it was stated that the fruits of the church were so small and sterile that the earlier ordination was insufficient (*York Reg. Kempe*, ff. 182d, 183).

⁵ *Reg. Gray, u.s.*, p. 112.

⁶ See p. 18 above, note 1.

brethren in each of the churches of their advowson, as they fell vacant, and to present one of them for institution to the benefice.¹ As we have seen, a literal interpretation of this injunction would have split up the house into a number of cells. It had certainly not been applied to the churches subject to the ordination of 1247: the need of funds which inspired it was met, as early as 1225, by the grant of a handsome annual pension out of the church of Lythe, and, probably about the same time, by substantial pensions from South Kirkby and Tickhill.² But it is possible that, as regards other churches, it was taken as an excuse for virtual appropriation, and that such appropriation was of old standing. It may be doubted whether the canons found it worth their while to send even a single member of their house to serve such cures, unless they were so near as to make this convenient: it would certainly have been easier to serve a remote church like Huddersfield by a secular chaplain hired for a small fee. This explains the delay in the formal appropriation of Batley, Felkirk, and Warmfield, until the circumstances of the convent had become rather easier by the disappearance of individual rectors from the churches ordained in 1247. It also explains the long silence of the archiepiscopal registers with regard to Featherstone and Huddersfield, and the fact that no vicarage was ordained at Adwick-on-Deerne, which Archbishop Gray appropriated to the fabric fund of St. Oswald's, directing merely that the cure should be served by a secular.³ This accounts for all the churches except Knaresborough, in which the priory had lost its right before 1230, when Archbishop Gray united the church to the prebend of Bichill, in York, as having devolved to his presentation *perpetuo jure*.⁴ This implies a formal surrender by the prior and convent at an earlier period.

This examination of the history of St. Oswald's in relation to its spiritual property leads to the conclusion that, if, in the early stages of the canonical movement, houses of canons regular were conceived of as capable of supplying parochial ministrations, this was practicable only where the parish churches concerned lay within a small area near the monastery. Even where, as in the case of St. Oswald's, several cells were established, these did not suffice for the purpose; and, though the tenure of vicarages by canons did not wholly cease and revived in the later part of the middle ages, it was merely tolerated. The rule was that, where a secular vicar could be procured, a canon should not be presented. Where such a presentation was admitted, this was under protest. We have already referred to the presentation to the vicarage of Tickhill in 1349, when secular vicars

¹ *Reg. Gray, u.s.*, p. 4n.

² See p. 30, note 3, and p. 32, note 1. After the resignation of their pensions by the prior and convent, the archbishop allowed them to retain the "due and ancient pensions" from Tickhill, South Kirkby, Rothwell, and Weaverthorpe, during the lifetime of the rectors of those churches (*Reg. Gray, u.s.*, pp. 107, 108).

³ Lawton, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

⁴ *Reg. Gray, u.s.*, p. 51.

were scarce.¹ In 1369 the vicarage of Thirkleby, a church appropriated to Newburgh Priory, fell void, and no secular priest would accept presentation to such a slender benefice. Apparently, even the canons of Newburgh felt that the stipend was too small, for the person whom they presented was a canon of the small priory of Marton.²

We shall have occasion to speak of this subject again in special connexion with Bolton, and it is unnecessary to devote to the other Augustinian houses of Yorkshire the attention which we have given to the earliest and the one whose influence was most widely spread. While the appropriated churches in the immediate neighbourhood of Nostell, with the exception of the chapel of Wragby, close to the monastery and closely connected with its early history, were habitually served by secular vicars, this was not the case everywhere. In the neighbourhood of Bridlington and Guisbrough, in particular, there were clusters of parochial chapels or parish churches which were held in appropriation, without ordination of vicarages. In the one instance the group was formed by Bridlington with its chapels of Bempton, Grindall, and Speeton, and the churches of Bessingby, Filey, and Flamborough³; in the other, by the churches of Guisbrough, Danby, Kirklevington, Skelton, Upleatham, Wilton, and Yarm. The churches of Coxwold, Kilburn, and Thirsk stood in the same relation to Newburgh. Elsewhere these groups of dependencies are not so noticeable. At Kirkham, for instance, there were vicarages in the churches of Crambe and Westow, both near the priory, and only the church of Hutton-on-Derwent remained without ordination.⁴ If, as time went on, secular chaplains were usually found for the cures, serving them at the pleasure of the appropriators, these compact groups of parishes in which it was possible to dispense with the services of a vicar indicate the original intention of the donors and the traditional respect which was attached to it.

It has been said already of canons' churches in general that, where a vicarage was ordained in an appropriated church, it was occasionally held by a regular. As regards Yorkshire this is true of remote districts, and, after a certain date, the custom became habitual, as in the case of Bolton. Another instance is the

¹ See p. 19 above, note 1.

² York Reg. Thoresby, fo. 189. The same reason was given for the institution of a canon of Worksp to the vicarage of Carcolston, Notts., a few weeks later (*ibid.*, fo. 272).

³ In York Reg. Kempe, fo. 112*d*, there is a certificate, in answer to an exchequer writ dated 21 Nov., 1446, to the effect that the prior and convent of Bridlington held the appropriated churches of Bridlington, Flamborough, Filey, Ottringham, Atwick, Boynton, Carnaby, Ganton, Scalby, Scarborough, and Willerby. In the first four no vicarages had been ordained, but the churches had been served by parochial chaplains at the expense of the convent from the time of appropriation, the prior and convent receiving all emoluments. For an ordination of the chapel of Bempton, by which the inhabitants undertook to maintain a resident chaplain, in consideration of the concession of parochial rights to their chapel, see *ibid.*, fo. 448.

⁴ Lawton, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

vicarage of Grinton, the parish church of upper Swaledale, which was usually held by a canon of Bridlington.¹ The prior and convent of Newburgh served the vicarage of Kirkby-on-the-Moor, near Boroughbridge, by one of their number: the exposed situation, close to a high road haunted by highwaymen, was a source of justifiable complaint to an early fifteenth-century incumbent, John Hovyngham, who, having suffered at the hands of these dangerous neighbours, sought to return to Newburgh, and laid his case before the pope.² Bingley, the vicars of which were canons of Drax, the appropriating house, similarly lay in lonely and sparsely populated country.³ This reason hardly applies to Hessle, which was served by canons of Guisbrough; but here, as at Grinton, the church was in a large and important parish, where the interests of the house might be better maintained by one or two canons on the spot than if left to a farmer or bailiff. Such churches, in fact, might be described as cells of the parent house, and were on the same footing as many of those non-conventual possessions of foreign monasteries in England, such as the churches of Scarborough and Ecclesfield, which were included under the general term of alien priories. There was no fixed custom in such cases, but it may be said, as a general rule, that vicarages to which canons were consistently presented were usually at some distance from the monastery, and that, with some exceptions, the vicarages in churches near the monastery were held by secular clerks. In addition it should be remembered that some of the churches given to houses of canons were never appropriated. Appropriation was not a necessary consequence of the grant of advowsons to monasteries: we have seen that in the churches given to St. Oswald's it came gradually. The preliminaries needed to secure it were rendered cumbrous and difficult by the checks imposed upon it by the statute of mortmain, for, although the appropriation of rectorial tithe was a spiritual matter which the law could not touch, yet the suppression of the advowson of the rectory involved a change in the tenure of the glebe, the plot of land which gave the idea of advowson concrete reality; and, if the pleas of poverty exhibited by monasteries as a valid excuse for appropriation were somewhat stereotyped in form, they were not passed without some scrutiny by the ecclesiastical authorities. Moreover, monasteries found it useful to have a few livings at their disposal which they could offer to clerks of ability and influence in return for services rendered, and in hope of future support.⁴ In this respect, houses of

¹ See *Yorks. Archaeol. Journ.*, xxv, 169, 197, 211.

² *Cal. Papal Letters*, vi, 322. His successor in 1440 was another canon (*Yorks. Archaeol. Journ.*, u.s., 228); but seculars had been instituted in 1377 and 1379 (*ibid.*, 184, 187).

³ It was a canon of Drax, although not the actual vicar of the church, who was the principal actor in a remarkable piece of necromancy, details of which are recorded in York Reg. Bainbridge, ff. 70 sqq., printed in *Archaeol. Journ.*, xvi, 72-81.

⁴ See *Lincoln Rot. Gravesend* (Cant. and York Soc.), introd., pp. xxvi, xxvii, where the present writer has illustrated this practice from institutions to benefices in the diocese of Lincoln between 1268 and 1280.

canons had not the resources commanded by the great Benedictine monasteries, such as St. Mary's at York. But the rectories of Crathorne, Easington, Heslerton, Loftus, and Welbury, in the gift of Guisbrough, remained unappropriated; and similar cases are those of Sproatley and a moiety of Thwing, in the gift of Bridlington, Keighley and Marton-in-Craven, in that of Bolton, and Burythorpe and Roos, in that of Kirkham.¹

We have thus traced the process by which houses of canons regular came into being, and have examined, with special reference to the Yorkshire houses, the objects for which they were founded, and in particular their connexion with the parochial life of their neighbourhood. To this we may add that, in only two out of the eleven Augustinian churches in Yorkshire, Bridlington and Bolton, was part of the conventual church used for parochial services. At Drax, Guisbrough, Healaugh, Marton, and Warter, the priory and parish churches were distinct, as the church at Wragby was from the priory church of St. Oswald's. And, while in some of these instances the building of a separate parish church may have been subsequent to the foundation of the priory, or, as at St. Oswald's, the old church may have been reserved for parochial purposes when a new priory church was built,² Kirkham, Newburgh, and the late foundation of Haltemprice were from the beginning distinct alike in name and structure from the churches of the parishes in which they were locally situated. It is easy to see how, with the progress of the order, the monastic ideal superseded the parochial, and the distinction between canons regular and monks became merely nominal.

Something may be said here of the two latest foundations of houses of canons in Yorkshire. The priory of Healaugh Park was founded in 1218 upon a site at a little distance from the village and church of Healaugh, which, about the middle of the twelfth century, had been granted by Bertram Haget to Gilbert, a monk of Marmoutier, as a hermitage, and was confirmed to him and his successors by Geoffrey, the son of Bertram. Apparently, the hermitage was abandoned in course of time, and its site was given to a body of Austin canons by Jordan of St. Mary's and Alice, his wife, who, as daughter and heir of one of the four sisters and coheirs of Geoffrey Haget, succeeded to the share of his inheritance in Healaugh. It may be inferred from the terms of the charters granted by the founders and by Archbishop Gray, that these canons entered into occupation of the hermitage before adhering to any definite rule, and that the rule of St. Austin was imposed upon them by the archbishop.³ In this case the endowment was purely one of land. The canons came into possession of the church of Wighill in the course of

¹ See the notes on these parishes in Lawton, *op. cit.*

² See p. 30 above.

³ *Monasticon*, vi, 439. The archbishop's charter contains the clause: "Et statuimus ut deinceps tam vos quam successores vestri secundum regulam sancti patris Augustini ibidem canonice vivatis." The charter of Alice Haget has: "Et concessi ut dicti canonici et eorum successores ibidem vivant secundum regulam sancti patris Augustini."

the thirteenth century, but the patronage and appropriation of the church of Healaugh did not come to them till 1398. Before 1279 William de Percy made them a grant of the chapel of St. Hilda in the parish of Kildale, with an endowment of land, meadow, and rent, on the condition that they should serve it either by two members of their own body or by secular chaplains. The secular alternative was apparently adopted, and after 1295 the endowment was re-arranged, so that, while the canons maintained a chaplain at Kildale, the other chaplain served a chantry in the hospital of St. Nicholas at Yarm, out of the revenues of a small estate in Crathorne which had formed part of the grant.¹ The prior and convent had acquired the wardenship of this hospital between 1222 and 1230, and retained it until the Dissolution, but it appears to have been usually kept by seculars, without being treated as a cell of the monastery.

The story of the foundation of Haltemprice Priory by Thomas, lord Wake of Liddell, is told at length in the *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*,² and only two points need be noticed here. The house founded at first, in 1320, at Cottingham, and abandoned in the course of 1322, was colonised from the abbey of Bourne, in Lincolnshire, of which the house of Wake was patron, and it therefore belonged to that congregation of canons which was dependent upon the abbey of Arrouaise. When the founder granted his charter to Haltemprice in 1325-6, although John, abbot of Bourne, is named among the persons for whose souls' health the priory was founded, there is no mention of dependence upon Bourne, and in the general chapters of Austin canons, the priors of Haltemprice took their place with those of the other English houses. Secondly, four advowsons of churches were confirmed to the convent in 1325-6, viz. Cottingham, Kirk Ella, Wharram Percy, and Belton-in-Axholme. Of these, Cottingham, although it is named in letters patent granted to the founder in 1322, and its appropriation was sanctioned by John XXII, remained in private patronage. The church of Belton remained unappropriated, but in the other two vicarages were ordained, and to these canons of Haltemprice were habitually presented.³

Of the temporal property of the Yorkshire houses nothing need be said here, as our particular account of Bolton will illustrate the methods by which it was administered, and the general subject affords no special peculiarities as distinct from the financial and economic arrangements of the houses of other orders. It remains however, to say something of the later history and organisation of the order in England.

Originally, as already stated, the tie between houses of canons was of that loose and general kind which existed between Benedictine houses, except in the case of groups which acknowledged the presidency of some particular monastery. The Arroasian and Victorine

¹ See *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 216, 335-336.

² *Ibid.*, iii, 213-216.

³ New ordinations of these vicarages were made by Archbishop Kempe, of Kirk Ella in 1438, of Wharram Percy in 1440 (*York Reg. Kempe*, ff. 178d, 179d, 195, 195d).

houses in England maintained a certain independence of the rest till the end, though their bond with the parent monasteries was considerably relaxed during the Hundred Years' War.¹ These, however, were congregations without the distinct characteristics possessed by the Premonstratensian and Gilbertine orders. The Lateran council of 1215 took the first step towards the establishment of co-operation between monasteries hitherto lacking the system of internal government provided by the general chapters of an order. The progress of the Augustinian general chapter in England has been traced in detail by Mr. H. E. Salter.² Its establishment as a chapter of all the houses throughout England was at first hindered by internal dissensions, by unreadiness on the part of certain houses to accept the statutes drawn up at Leicester in 1217,³ and by the objection of the houses of the northern province to the confinement of the place of chapter to the southern.⁴ The separation of the provinces into two chapters was achieved by Michaelmas, 1223, when the first general chapter of the province of York was held at Newburgh,⁵ and from that time until 1341 such meetings were held triennially. The acts of several of these chapters, covering the period between 1223 and 1302, survive, and have been printed. At each of these, two priors, chosen at the preceding chapter, presided; two more were appointed to act as visitors of the houses in the province during the next three years, and others to visit the two monasteries whose priors were thus entrusted with the general visitation. Of the two presidents, one preached the sermon, while the other celebrated mass.⁶ In the last quarter of the thirteenth century it became the practice that the visitors appointed for three years should succeed to the presidency at the end of their term of office,⁷ and during the same period it was recognised, apparently by the statutes issued after 1265, that the chapters should be held in one of five houses, viz. Guisbrough, St. Oswald's, Bridlington, Newburgh, and Kirkham.⁸ These were certainly the most central for the province; but in 1288 the northern priories of Hexham and Carlisle, and the Nottinghamshire priories of Thurgarton and Worksop, were added to the list.⁹

In 1265, at a general chapter held at Worksop, it was ordered that the customs of seven selected monasteries, viz. Thurgarton, St. Oswald's, Newburgh, Kirkham, Hexham, Bridlington, and Guisbrough, should be collated by seven competent canons, one from

¹ See p. 9 above, note 1.

² *Chapters of Augustinian Canons, u.s.*, introd.

³ Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. x; see *Cal. Papal Letters*, i, 59.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26. Subsequent meetings of the northern chapter were held on the feast of the Invention of the Cross (3 May).

⁶ The first full notice of these appointments occurs in the acts of the chapter held in 1259 at St. Oswald's (*ibid.*, p. 35).

⁷ This appears by the appointments made in 1278 and subsequent years (*ibid.*, pp. 37, 38, etc.).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

each of these houses, and a body of statutes for the province be drawn up from them. The conference was fixed to take place at Drax on the Sunday after Michaelmas.¹ The statutes, however, were finally brought into shape at Healaugh Park, and are subsequently referred to as *statuta de Parco* for that reason.² They may have been promulgated at the next triennial chapter, which was appointed to be held at Guisbrough, but no records of which have survived: there is at any rate a distinct reference to their existence in the acts of the chapter of 1278, held at St. Oswald's.³ There was some difficulty, however, in procuring their observance. It was represented at Newburgh in 1282 that the customs and observances, thus reduced to statutory form, as well as certain of the statutes passed by general chapters, were found by some monasteries burdensome and discordant with their own peculiar uses. In order that some uniformity might be arrived at, a general meeting of the priors of the province was called for the day after the Michaelmas synod at York, at the prior of Bridlington's house there. The priors of Bridlington and Warton were deputed to obtain the assent of the archbishop to this proceeding.⁴ From a document in the register of Archbishop Wickwane, issued on 1 May, 1282, two days before the chapter, it is clear that the attempt to enforce uniformity was strongly urged by the primate himself. He comments upon the absurdity of local diversities of custom in the performance of the divine office and other matters, and the mutual misunderstandings to which they gave rise, and directs them to ordain the general observance of the use of York in their houses, and to reduce other disparities to a single norm.⁵ This, with the record of the acts of chapter, illustrates the close connexion between the houses of the order and "the worship of the archiepiscopal dignity,"⁶ and the choice of the date and place of the diocesan synod for the consultation of priors is significant in this context.

At Guisbrough, in 1285, where all the priors of the province except four were present, the statutes of the Park were unanimously confirmed, and it was ordered that they should come into general use at the following Easter, with reference of all disputed points to the general chapter.⁷ But this order met with opposition, when the priors attempted to put it into execution, and in August, 1286, Archbishop Romeyn wrote to the prior of Guisbrough, remarking that the statutes had been promulgated without sufficient forethought, and ordering him to postpone their publication until the next chapter, and meanwhile to annul sentences of excommunication

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

² They are definitely mentioned in 1282: "de consuetudinibus et obseruanciis apud Parchum in scripturam reductis" (*ibid.*, p. 39).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 38: "iuxta quod alias est prouisum."

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁵ *York Reg. Wickwane* (Surtees Soc.), pp. 294, 295.

⁶ See the passage quoted on p. 30 above.

⁷ *Salter, op. cit.*, p. 42.

passed upon the obdurate.¹ In March, 1287-8, he sent a letter of exhortation to the members of the chapter, which was to meet at Bridlington in May, urging them to agree upon provisions for the unity and concord of the order, and pointing out that his own task of visitation would be lightened by the adoption of conformity of practice.² When the chapter met the difficulties raised by the attempt to enforce the statutes were discussed, and it was decided that copies of the code should be examined in each monastery before the next chapter, which was to meet at Hexham, and that objections should then be presented.³ We have no more acts of chapter until 1302, when the meeting was at Worksop. The previous chapter, held at Healaugh Park, had made an order that nine canons, chosen from various houses, should meet at Ripon to discuss the standing problem, possibly with the idea that better progress might be made on neutral ground than in one of the houses of the order. The place had proved inconvenient, new difficulties had arisen, and no conclusion had been reached. It was now decreed that the nine canons should meet at Drax in the following Lent, to correct and reform the statutes of the Park and add new ordinances to them. For the settlement of points upon which no decision could be reached, two priors of the order were to be chosen, who should consider them at the Easter synod at York, and the code thus compiled was to be submitted to the chapter to be held at Thurgarton in 1305. The prior of Drax was required to board the canons and their nine serving-men for a month, if necessary, each canon paying three shillings a week.⁴

Although the divergences of custom involved were in themselves comparatively slight, the tenacity with which each house clung to established precedent was a serious bar to any final accommodation. There were other hindrances in the way. The meeting appears to have been convened at Drax on the 24th of February, 1302-3, being the first Sunday in Lent. Among the nine canons was one from Carlisle, named William, as representatives from Carlisle and Worksop had been added to those of the seven houses mentioned in the decree of 1265. He brought with him a letter addressed to the meeting by his bishop, John Halton, warning them that no customs of the cathedral

¹ Printed in *Chartul. Guisbrough* (Surtees Soc.), ii, 364, 365; cf. *York Reg. Romeyn* (Surtees Soc.), i, 159.

² *Chartul. Guisbrough*, ii, 365; cf. *Reg. Romeyn*, i, 167. The last clause is: "ut . . . et nostri executio officii in vestris collegiis planiori examine dirigatur." The letter of 11 August, 1286, was written after visitations of Healaugh Park, St. Oswald's and Bolton in July. In the following October he visited Marton and Guisbrough; in November, Newburgh, Kirkham, and Warter; in December, Drax. He was at Worksop, Newstead, Shelford, and Thurgarton, in January, 1286-7, and at Bridlington in March. See his itinerary in *Reg. Romeyn*, ii, 191-193. Thus, within a little more than a year of his consecration, he had visited all the Augustinian houses in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, except Felley Priory in the latter county, which was visited by his clerks (*ibid.*, i, 254). He had also been at Hexham in September, 1286.

³ Salter, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 44.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 47.

priory of Carlisle could be altered without the episcopal consent and authority, or without prejudice to the bishop's dignity.¹ Unfortunately, the acts of the chapter of 1302 are the last which we possess. At this point, however, legislation in all departments of the Church was beginning to assume a settled form, and in the province of York the first half of the fourteenth century was noticeably an era of constitutional progress. During this period the statutes of the Park, to judge by later references, took their final shape and were, at least nominally, accepted.

The archiepiscopal registers, however, provide us with two documents which do something to bridge the gap between the chapter of 1302 and the union of the northern and southern provinces in 1340-1. The first of these shows that the internal statutes of the province could be used to prejudice the authority of the diocesan in monasteries of the order. In October, 1313, Archbishop Greenfield wrote to the priors of Hexham and Bolton, then presidents of chapter, complaining that, during recent visitations, he had found canons prevented from disclosing defaults which had been left uncorrected by their priors, by the existence of certain statutes and ordinances passed by the general chapter. These he commanded to be revoked, reminding them that there was authority for this in a constitution of Boniface VIII, and ordering them to appear before him in the following month with the statutes in question, and meanwhile to report upon their execution of his mandate.²

This assertion of the archbishop's superiority to the provincial chapter's decrees may have cooled the constitutional ardour which had provoked so much discussion. At any rate, Archbishop Melton, writing in April, 1323, five-and-a-half years after his accession to the throne of York, commented upon the apparent cessation of the chapters. None had been held in his time, and he took advantage of the Easter synod at York to recall the presidents and priors there assembled to their duty.³ His letter is an interesting production to students of common forms, for the first part of it is a repetition, almost word for word, of Wickwane's letter of half-a-century earlier. The same diversities of custom were still prevalent:

It is out of all keeping with the state of religious discipline that, at times when canons of a like profession, though of different houses, meet together, they have different ideas about the conduct of the canonical hours, and one canon, unable to understand another of the company, sneeringly prefers his own use to the abuse of the other. It is utterly inconsistent with the integrity of the religious life, either that, as regards regular use of

¹ *Carlisle Reg. Halton* (Cant. and York Soc.), i, 182.

² *York Reg. Greenfield*, ii, fo. 71d, printed in *The Priory of Hexham, u.s.*, i, app., pp. liv-lvi. The constitution to which he refers is *Quia praelati* (Sext. I, xvi, 4). It contains in terms of general application the substance of the Extravagant *Ad audientiam*, issued by Alexander IV in 1256 as the result of similar events in French monasteries. The text of this latter document is added in a note to Richter and Friedberg's *Corpus Juris Canonici* ii, 987, 988.

³ *York Reg. Melton*, fo. 516, printed in *The Priory of Hexham, u.s.*, app., pp. lxi-lxxi.

titles, one man is called "sir," and another "brother," or that, when they ride on horseback smartly shod, there is abundant diversity between them.

Melton inserts in the last clause:

And as regards variety of capes, whereas the said religious formerly lived satisfied with capes dyed a simple black, now most of them do not hesitate to wear in public, as a conspicuous mark of the abject humility of their hearts, capes of burnet colour, which it is our will should henceforth be utterly abandoned.

He proceeds in Wickwane's language:

Surely the eye of the mind which beholds these things with wisdom will very readily apprehend the seriousness of the scandals which accrue to the order from these sources, and of the ill fame which is their consequence.¹

In the second part of the document, however, before recommending the resumption of general chapters, he refers to the statutes of the Park, and demands to see a faithful transcript within two months. This he proposes to revise personally, using his own judgment to repeal some and prune from others useless and superfluous details.

Whatever was done to the statutes of the Park by Melton, they were still current in the north at a much later date. The separate provincial chapters, however, came to an end after the promulgation of new constitutions for the order by Benedict XII in 1339. Statutes had been issued for the southern province at the chapter held at St. James' Abbey, Northampton, in 1325²: there is no sufficient record of the process by which they came into being, but we may suspect, in view of the much larger number of houses involved, that the obstacles to uniformity of custom were no fewer than in the North. The first general chapter, under the new constitution, of the united English province was held at Newstead Priory, near Stamford,³ on 12 March, 1340-1, where the papal constitutions were produced by their appointed executors, the abbot of Thornton and the prior of Kirkham, and were accepted by the priors of Westacre and Drax, acting as presidents on behalf of the other houses, and by the

¹ The text in both printed copies contains errors, and that in *The Priory of Hexham* is punctuated in a way which destroys the sense. By collation of the two passages a more accurate text may be obtained: "Nuncquam religiosae conditioni contingit [*Wickwane congruit*] quod, dum parvis professionibus, licet diversorum coenobiorum, canonici nonnunquam convenerunt [*ibid.*, conveniunt] in horis canonicalibus exsolvendis varia sentiunt, et hic suum usum, cum socium non intelligat, alterius [*Hexham, alterae*] abusui ridiculose proponit. Nunquam religiosae indempnitati convenit quod, tam nuncupatione regulari, dum hic videlicet dominus, alius vero frater appellatur, quam in calciamentorum pompositate dum equitant, [et caparum varietate, quibus simplici colore nigro tinctis dicti religiosi prius vixerant contentati, nunc plerique eorum capis de burneto in signum abjectae humilitatis internae notissimum uti publice non verentur, quas reici volumus prorsus de caetero et dimitti, nimia] acceptatur disparitas apud eos. Profecto quanta ex hiis ordini scandala proveniant, quantaque opprobria subsequantur, facillime attendere poterit oculus sagaciter animae intuentis."

² Salter, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-15.

³ Not to be confounded with the more famous priory of Newstead in Sherwood Forest, which was in the ecclesiastical province of York.

diffinitores chosen to do the executive work of the chapter.¹ At the same time the constitutions of the provincial chapters were ratified, so that the statutes of Northampton and the Park still remained in force, so far as they did not conflict with the terms of the papal decrees.²

From this time onward the united chapter met triennially, but always in the southern province at some convenient midland monastery, and habitually during the fortnight after Trinity Sunday, thus following the southern custom, whereas the northern chapter had customarily met on 3 May, the feast of the Invention of the Cross. In 1341 at Newstead, in 1343 and 1350 at Northampton, in 1346 at Leicester, and in 1353 at Oseney, there were two presidents, one from either province, and of the six *diffinitores* two were regularly chosen from York. As the presidents were always elected at the previous chapter, and occasionally could not fulfil their office, the place of an absent northern president was taken by a substitute from the same province, and it is possible that the substitution of the prior of Dunstable for the prior of Guisbrough in 1350 may have been due to the sparsity of attendance from the north, owing to the ravages of the great pestilence during the previous year, which had certainly delayed the date of the chapter.³ In 1353, however, it was enacted that henceforward there should be three presidents, two of whom should be from the southern province, as representing a more numerous body of monasteries. These three were to retain office for three successive chapters.⁴ It was also agreed that chapters should be held alternately at Newstead-by-Stamford and at Northampton.⁵ Of these arrangements the first was consistently maintained, so far as the triple presidency was concerned, and the province of York was always represented by one of the three. After 1362, however, the duration of the presidency for three chapters was modified in practice, and no regular rule was observed, although one or two of the presidents in one were generally continued in the next chapter. The custom with regard to the place of meeting, though generally kept for some time, was also altered. The hostile behaviour of some townsfolk at Northampton in 1359 caused a temporary removal of the chapter to Barnwell in 1365.⁶ In 1386 Barnwell again took the place of Northampton; but for some years from 1395 chapters were regularly held at Northampton.⁷ By that time Newstead was probably unable to furnish hospitality to the conference: a small house at any time, it suffered serious decline in the course of the

¹ The *diffinitores*, indeed, did all the work after their election; for the decisions of the majority, debating apart, were submitted to the chapter merely for ratification. See Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 49.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 57. The chapter was due to take place at Trinity, 1349, which was just at the height of the pestilence.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁷ The acts for 1395, 1398, 1401, and 1404 survive.

fifteenth century.¹ Of the remaining chapters of which we have record, after 1404, two were at Northampton (1434, 1446); four at Leicester (1431, 1509, 1512, 1518); two at Oseney (1443, 1449); one at Barnwell (1506); and the last (1521) at St. Frideswide's, Oxford, which was then upon the eve of dissolution.

Much of the business recorded in the acts of these chapters was of a formal kind, and the information which they supply with regard to the state and history of individual houses is small. While the number of *diffinitores* chosen at each chapter was gradually increased from six to twelve, and on one occasion to fourteen, the priors of the southern province always kept the preponderating influence in it. In 1443 three out of fourteen were priors of northern houses²; in 1446 four out of twelve.³ In 1506 and 1509 only two out of twelve came from the province of York, and of these in 1506 two were subordinate members of their monasteries,⁴ and in 1509 one.⁵ It is evident that by this time the northern priors were attending by deputy. In 1518, however, when the prior of Guisbrough was senior president, there were four northern *diffinitores* out of thirteen, all priors,⁶ and it is in this year that we have the only report of a visitation of the houses of the northern province by the two priors appointed for that purpose. On this occasion the prior of Carlisle appeared neither personally nor by proxy. His contumacy was gently treated in consideration of "his timely, albeit his bounden generosity" in sending the contributions due from his district to the fabric fund of the college maintained for students of the order at Oxford. Subsequent visitors, however, were enjoined to see that the canons of Carlisle wore the long gaitered shoes prescribed by statute, with double soles, presumably instead of the secular alternative of boots, which was a frequent subject of condemnation.⁷

While the northern and southern houses thus met in one chapter, the statutes of the Park remained in force. At Northampton, in 1380, however, an attempt was made to repeal them, on the ground that diversity of custom between the two provinces, now that they were united, was illogical.⁸ But, although this chapter annulled them and decreed that the Northampton statutes of 1325 should be the norm for all houses, the order was revoked at Newstead in 1383.⁹ Subsequent chapters seem to have ignored the divergence, and at Barnwell in 1506, when no prior from the north seems to have been

¹ In 1440 there were only four canons, one of whom was residing elsewhere (*Visitations of Relig. Houses, u.s.*, iii, 22).

² Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 85. It is possible that the prior of Mertone, who heads the list, may have been the prior of Marton; but Merton, in Surrey, is more likely.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 123; the subpriors of Guisbrough and Hexham.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 127: a canon of Bridlington.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

present, and the abbot of Waltham took the place of the absent prior of Newburgh as third president, the statutes of the Park found no place in the list laid down as constituting the code to be recognised in English monasteries.¹ It is probable that by this time the northern province had lost all trace of its individual character. If its counsels were of comparatively little weight in general chapters, it is worth while remembering that it supplied in its later days a saint to the order in the person of St. John of Bridlington, the feast of whose Deposition was ordered to be kept by all houses in 1404.²

After the union of the provinces, the English houses were divided into a number of districts for purposes of visitation, for each of which two local priors were appointed triennially as visitors.³ In spite of its wide area the northern province remained a single district. The constitutions of Benedict XII laid down directions for such visitations with due regard to honesty and economy in their conduct.⁴ Two days were fixed as the maximum period for the visitation of a single monastery, unless there arose necessity for a longer stay, in which case the elders of the house had to be consulted. Visitors were to be satisfied with modest and competent entertainment, without making themselves a burden to their hosts, and were to accept no gift in money other than their reasonable expenses. The procurations were charged to the monasteries visited according to a scale fixed by the presidents of chapter, with the provision that no individual house should be charged at a higher rate than that prescribed by the constitution *Vas electionis*,⁵ which embodied the general scale of visitation fees. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that the system of internal visitation did not supersede or alter in any way the periodical visitations by diocesan bishops to which houses of canons were subject, nor did it imply the exercise of a discipline which overrode that of the ordinary. In such matters the bishop was the final judge, except, of course, in the very rare case of an exempt house.

There are certain other points in the Benedictine constitutions which have a special bearing upon those aspects of the order which we have endeavoured to illustrate. One of the businesses of the general chapters was the levying of subscriptions to meet the most pressing common needs. The amount of these taxes was fixed by the presidents and the *diffinitores*, and directions for the custody of the sums collected were given in some detail.⁶ The first general chapter in 1341 was faced with a demand for two hundred florins from the three doctors who had been commissioned to draw up the new constitutions.⁷ In 1356 it was ordained that a chest should be

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 125.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 81.

³ The first complete list of visitors occurs in 1341 (*ibid.*, p. 52).

⁴ Cap. viii: "De visitatoribus" (*ibid.*, pp. 226, 227).

⁵ *Vas electionis Paulus*, promulgated in 1336 (Extrav. Commun. III, x, un.).

⁶ Const. Bened. cap. ix: "De subventionibus" (Salter, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-229).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49; see also pp. 158, 161.

kept in St. James' Abbey, in which the quotas collected and fines levied by the chapters should be laid, together with the common privileges and the common seal of chapter.¹ A second chest for money levied in the northern province was ordered to be kept at St. Oswald's in 1431, when three collectors were appointed for each province.² The records of some of the later chapters contain lists of fines imposed, either for absence from chapter without excuse, or for failure to maintain student canons at the universities.³ The procedure of chapters shows that at each two priors were nominated to audit the accounts then presented by the keepers of the chests.

The principal burden for which contributions were levied in the fifteenth century was the maintenance of the house established for students in Oxford. For this purpose the *diffinitores* at Oseney in 1443 decreed a tax of twopence in the pound upon the revenues of convents.⁴ The directions given in the constitutions of 1339 for the university education of students in theology and canon law are very detailed.⁵ The general rule was that one canon in every house that had twenty members should be given this opportunity of study, and in smaller houses, if they could afford it, and the pension to be paid him was regulated by the degree which he attained in the university. If it was the custom of any house to give more than the sums prescribed in the constitution, it was at liberty to maintain the higher rate. The inability of poorer houses to meet the statutory requirement was made up by a contribution levied all round by the provincial chapter. The course of study contemplated was not a mere matter of two or three years: like other theologians and jurists, the student canon had to go through the long course of study and lecturing which was the avenue to the doctorate, and was thus liable to be absent from his monastery for as many as eleven years.⁶ During this time, however, he received supervision from a canon dwelling within easy reach of the university, who was known as the prior of the students, and was lodged, where such arrangements could be made, in the same house with the other students of his order. This led to the foundation of St. Mary's College at Oxford, upon a site given by Thomas and Elizabeth Holden; but, although the chapter which met at Oseney in 1443 was able to attend mass in the chapel of the college,⁷ the work of building languished. As a matter of

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 82.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100, 101-102, 128-130; see also pp. 186-187.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 105.

⁵ Capp. xi, xii: "De mittendis ad studia, De pensionibus studentium" (*ibid.*, pp. 230-240).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 89. Collections for the building were still going on in 1518, when the chapter, in answer to a letter from Wolsey, offering to take over the work of building the college at his own expense, submitted it to his disposal (*ibid.*, p. 141). For the somewhat scanty details of the buildings, so far as they were completed, see Mallet, *Hist. Univ. Oxon.*, i, 405, etc.

fact, it was easier to pay a fine of ten pounds a year than to maintain an absent canon, and at the same chapter fines at this rate, amounting to £705, were levied from twenty-seven of the houses whose numbers rendered them liable to this charge. The constitution which regulated provisions for students limited their expenses, especially with respect to the entertainments to be furnished by newly-made graduates, and ordered that the prior of the students should receive an annual payment from each of his charges. Books for their studies were to be supplied from the library of their monastery, on the understanding that they should give a bond to return them in due time.

Finally, the directions of the papal constitutions for the conditions of the tenure of benefices by canons should be noted.¹ Canons holding priories or other benefices outside their monasteries should reside upon them with one or more *socii*, assigned to them by the head of the house with the consent of the convent, whom they were bound to accept under penalty of ecclesiastical censure. The number of those thus residing out of cloister was to be taken into account at an annual chapter of the house, at which arrangements were to be made to keep up the number diminished by their absence. The case of the tenure of simple benefices without cure of souls, which included hospitals and might be held to extend to those parochial charges in which no vicarage was ordained,² was to be regulated by the distance of such benefices from the monastery or from one of its priories, if funds did not allow of the appointment of more than one canon to take charge of them. While it was desirable that a canon should not dwell by himself upon a benefice of the kind, and while he could generally perform his duties from his priory, if it was near by, the constitution allows some latitude to possible instances in which the benefice required residence, and, if it was in a remote place, the question of personal residence was left to the discretion of the annual chapter of the monastery, with due regard to the maintenance of divine service in the place concerned. It is obvious from examples already cited that this discretion was frequently extended in practice to vicarages with cures of souls. Canons dwelling together in the subordinate priories or other places of administration were bound to say their hours and masses, and, where there were three or more, there was to be a sung mass once a day, and the hours were to be sung: otherwise, the two canons were to be responsible for the daily mass week and week about.³ They were not to sleep or eat in separate buildings, but in all things were to behave as

¹ Const. Bened., c. xiii: "De mittendis ad beneficia" (Salter, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-243).

² The description in the Latin text is quite general: "beneficia simplicia quibus non iminet cura animarum," none being specified. In the case of parochial curacies without vicarages, there was, of course, a cure of souls; but the responsibility for this remained with the appropriating house, and the canon or chaplain who served it was merely a deputy.

³ This applies to the principal or parochial mass. Presumably the canon who was not "hebdomadary" or chaplain for the week would celebrate his private mass daily at one of the altars of the church.

regulars, paying obedience to the prior set over them by the head of the house, who was bound to report cases of death or of flight or departure from the place to his superior. They were not to walk out by themselves, or eat or drink or enter other houses unless in honest company and with leave from their prior.

Rules which might be enforced in a small priory or cell of several canons were hardly capable of rigid application where only two canons dwelt together, and were in any case counsels of perfection which afforded loopholes for relaxation.¹ The large body of episcopal injunctions and the records of visitations which remain to-day show abundant evidence of laxness. Even the rule of St. Austin, with its comparatively easy ideal of the religious life, proved "somdel streyt" for many of its professors, and breaches of it were numerous. To sum up the evidence which we have examined, the orders of canons regular, of which the Augustinian was the most numerous and important, arose in the beginning from the combination of secular clerks in a common life under a common rule. To this in process of time was added a more strictly monastic system of life, in which the possession of private property was forbidden or restricted to allowances intended to supply individual necessities. Two types of houses of canons came into being under these conditions, the type which was intended primarily to serve a monastic church, and the type in which the church of the community was the centre of a group of parishes whose services its members supplied. The ultimate tendency of all houses of canons was to conform to the first type: the very existence of the common church constituted an obligation which could not be shelved, though it might become an excuse for the neglect of parochial duties. On the other hand, even in communities which were not obviously founded to fulfil such duties, the idea that there was a fundamental connexion between canons and the cures of parish churches did not disappear. Its existence remained the chief distinction, apart from outward differences of habit, between canons and monks; the constitutions of Benedict XII somewhat carefully provided for the contingencies to which it might give rise; and in the later middle ages it came frequently into prominence by the preferment of canons to benefices which were accustomed to be held by seculars. It has perhaps seldom been noticed how those colleges of secular clerks, bound to the services of a single church, which were founded in some numbers during the later middle ages, were a reversion, not altogether conscious but none the less evident, from the divided aims of churches of canons regular to the ideals and methods of St. Chrodegang. Their varieties of constitution form an interesting study in themselves; but their object was one, to provide a single church with a

¹ The canon of Dorchester, who served the cure of Stadhampton with unhappy results in 1445, seems to have had no *socius* but his serving-man, in whose company he visited the village alehouse (*Visitations of Rel. Houses, u.s., ii, 79 sqq.*). He could have justified himself by pleading that he had gone out "*honeste associatus*," and that, where he was the sole canon on the spot, licence to eat and drink or enter houses in the village was unnecessary.

body of clergy sufficient to serve its altars and maintain the daily service of the choir, bound by no rule, but subject to a code of statutes which regulated their life and duties, and receiving their annual stipends through the hands of a provost or other chief officer, appointed to be their head and legal representative. At a time when the customs of houses of canons regular had lost their freshness and were perhaps more honoured in the breach than the observance, there was little difference between the daily routine of an Augustinian monastery and that of a college of chantry priests. Where a house of the latter type had been founded on too ambitious lines, as happened at the chapel of St. Peter at Kirkby Bellars, in Leicestershire, it was easy to pool the endowments of the several chaplaincies and convert it into a house of Austin canons.¹ Bishop Edington, of Winchester, in providing for a body of priests to minister in the church of his native village, hesitated between seculars and religious, and at last established in it a college or priory of the congregation of Austin canons known as Bonshommes.² But in neither of these instances can the change of plan have produced any striking metamorphosis in the buildings or the general manner of life of the community, and there can be no doubt that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when regular monasteries were seldom founded but the idea of communal life had not died out, the plan adopted by the founders of the new colleges was, in obedience to those revolutions which time brings about, closely allied to the scheme that had commended itself to the early institutors of the canonical life.

¹ This chapel, founded in 1319 for a master and twelve secular chaplains, each of whom held a separate benefice by institution, was changed into a house of Austin canons in March, 1359-60 (*Visitations of Rel. Houses, u.s.*, i, 164).

² The small college of a warden and two chaplains in Edington church was founded by the bishop between 1348 and 1352 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1348-50*, p. 43, etc.; 1350-4, p. 312, etc.). "A rector and brethren of the order of St. Augustine called bonhommes" were placed in the church, in lieu of this foundation, in 1358 (*ibid.*, 1358-60, pp. 90, 212).

II.

THE HISTORY OF BOLTON PRIORY.

In 1120, according to the precise account printed in *Monasticon*, a monastery of canons was founded at Embsay, in the parish of Skipton, by William Meschin and his wife, Cecily de Rumilly, who had inherited the honour of Skipton from her father, Robert. The actual date of foundation was after 17 October in that year, as it is said to have taken place in the second year of the pontificate of Archbishop Turstin, which began on that day, and it may have lain as late as the opening months of 1121, according to modern reckoning.¹ The foundation charter, the text of which is preserved in later charters of *inspeximus* and confirmation, and may be accepted as authentic, is as follows:

To Turstin, by the grace of God archbishop of York, and to all the sons of holy mother church, William Meschin and Cecily my wife, greeting. Know ye that we give and grant to Reynald the prior, the church of the Holy Trinity of Skipton, with its chapel of Carlton, with all the appurtenances, and the whole vill of Embsay, with all its appurtenances and its right boundaries, to make therefrom a church of canons regular, in pure alms, for the health of our souls and of those of our ancestors and successors. These being witnesses: H. the chaplain, Reynald Revel, R. the mason, Everard the mason.²

There is no indication of the source from which the canons of the priory were drawn. It is, however, a curious fact that William Meschin appears also to have granted the church of Skipton to the priory of Austin canons at Huntingdon, to whom it was confirmed by a charter of Henry I, the date of which lies between 1124 and 1135.³ In spite of this the grant to Embsay held good and was apparently not disputed by the canons of Huntingdon; for the church was appropriated by Turstin to the foundation named in the charter of William and Cecily. The date of this appropriation is uncertain, and the text of the decree comes from a later confirmation. It does not mention Embsay by name, but proceeds after the preamble:

Wherefore the church of the Holy Trinity of Skipton, with its chapel of Carlton, and all its appurtenances, which our be-

¹ *Monasticon*, vi (i), 203.

² *Ibid.* The masons (*caementarii*) mentioned here may have been the builders of the church mentioned in the charter, and were possibly members of one family. Henry le Machon, who occurs many years later in a Bolton document, may have been a descendant.

³ *Ibid.* p. 80.

loved son William Meschin and his wife Cecily de Rumilly bestowed freely upon Reynald the prior, to found and construct therefrom a church of canons regular, we grant to the same, and have received them by episcopal authority as perpetual parson of the same church.

In the final clauses, which grant the fruits of the church to the use of the canons, and absolve them from synodals and other episcopal customs, the consent of William, dean of York, and the chapter is notified.¹ If this dean is William of Ste-Barbe, who became bishop of Durham in 1143,² the date lies within the last few years of Turstin's life, which ended in 1140, and after the death of William Meschin, which occurred about 1132.³ It is certainly odd that, so late as this, the place of the monastery should be left unspecified, and that the foundation should be connected merely with the church of Skipton. As there is a gap in the names of the deans of York between 1113 and 1130, it may possibly be assumed that we have here a dean called William to whom there is no other reference, and that the appropriation was made as a direct consequence of the granting of the foundation charter. In any case, however, it is clear that it refers to the canons of Embsay, and cannot be understood of those of Huntingdon, to whom the charter of foundation makes no allusion.

On the other hand, the prior and convent of Huntingdon, after the transference of the monastery from Embsay to Bolton, made certain claims upon its obedience. The grounds of these are entirely unspecified, and the documents relating to the settlement of the dispute make no allusion to the church of Skipton, but show merely that Huntingdon Priory claimed, in the last years of the twelfth century, that Bolton was subject to it. This can mean only that there was some reason for supposing that Bolton was a subordinate member or cell of the church of Huntingdon. The case was referred to Pope Celestine III (1191-1197), and was the subject of several judicial commissions, as a result of which the independence of Bolton was established. The exact chronology of these is not very clear, but, it seems that, after the precentor of York, the prior of Newburgh and the archdeacon of Cleveland had pronounced in favour of Bolton, the canons of Huntingdon attempted to secure a contrary judgment by nominating three judges from the southern province, the bishop and the archdeacon of London and the abbot of Waltham. The pope delegated the case to two priors of the province of York, the priors of Guisbrough and Marton, who, in a letter directed to Archbishop Geoffrey, reported that, after examining the matter, they had absolved Bolton from its pretended allegiance to Huntingdon, imposing silence upon the latter house, and annulling the sentence of excommunication which had been issued against Bolton by the three southern commissioners. No impartial verdict, however, was likely to be given by judges chosen entirely from one province, and

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

² Le Neve, *Fasti*, iii, 120.

³ See the Meschin pedigree in Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, iii, 470.

in the end the two parties agreed to a commission consisting of the abbot of Newhouse, Simon of Apulia, dean of York, and Roger of Rolleston, archdeacon of Leicester, the date of which may be settled as 1194-5. The details of their finding are not given, but the prior and convent of Huntingdon set their seal to the written sentence, and testified in writing their adhesion to the peaceable arrangement which it embodied. As no further mention of the claim occurs, we may assume that the independence of Bolton was upheld. The letter of the canons of Huntingdon was witnessed by a very large assembly of clerks and laymen, and, as the list is headed by the signature of the prior and canons of Worksop, it may be concluded that the commission held its sitting in that priory.¹

While the data for a positive conclusion on this point are insufficient, it may at any rate be surmised as highly probable that William Meschin went to the priory of Huntingdon for the canons who were to constitute his monastery in Craven. His charter, which is addressed merely to Reynald the prior, does not specify the place where that monastery was to be founded, but only the endowment which was to constitute the foundation. When it was granted, therefore, the settlement at Embsay was not yet achieved. It is fair to assume that Reynald was the prior chosen to rule the new house, although this is not definitely stated; but we can hardly avoid the probability that he was a canon of Huntingdon, and that the grant made to him was taken by Huntingdon as made to that house in his name. This would explain the otherwise inexplicable confirmation of the church of Skipton to Huntingdon at a date not long after the received foundation of Embsay Priory. On the other hand, the confirmation to Huntingdon contains no mention of the vill of Embsay as part of the grant which included Skipton, so that there seems to have been a second, and perhaps rather earlier charter, in which William Meschin gave the church of Skipton to Huntingdon Priory, and it may be that the terms of this were qualified by the charter in which William and Cecily made their grant to Reynald. We may therefore suggest as a tentative conclusion that, in the first instance William gave the church to Huntingdon, and that Reynald was sent to take possession of it on behalf of the monastery and to establish a cell there. Subsequently, he obtained in his own name a more specific grant of the church with the chapel of Carlton and the vill of Embsay, after which the new monastery was begun at Embsay. The tie which bound it to Huntingdon, though probably not formally broken, was loose from the first, and, although the claim of Huntingdon, when it was pressed, might have some justice on its side, it was urged too late to be of any effect. The removal to Bolton was evidently carried out without reference to the consent of Huntingdon, and it is probable that the whole transaction had been effected so loosely that all that Huntingdon could allege in its own favour was the grant of Skipton church and the royal confirmation, without being able to deny that this grant was for a special purpose in the fulfilment of which the priory had taken no active part.

¹ *Monasticon*, vi (i), 205, 206.

The secondary dedication of the church at Embsay to St. Cuthbert is unusual outside districts which have no special connexion with the saint or his church of Durham, or which at any rate were outside the part of England in which he was most famous. There is a well-known tradition that such dedications mark places which were visited by the congregation of St. Cuthbert in their long wanderings with the body of the saint between their flight from Lindisfarne and their settlement at Chester-le-Street. This is founded on the supposed evidence of a fifteenth-century document in the Treasury at Durham, from which extracts have been printed in Raine's *St. Cuthbert* and other works. An examination of this document shows that these extracts are not very accurate, and that its purpose has been misunderstood. It contains nothing that bears out the theory that an itinerary of the relics of the saint can be derived from it; for its sole purpose is to give a list of churches dedicated to St. Cuthbert in England and Scotland. This list, though interesting, especially as regards the Scottish dedications, is incomplete, and spaces have been left in it for the insertion of churches in counties of which the compiler had no certain information. As regards the north of England, there are some omissions and errors. Among the Lancashire churches is included Brynsale in Craven, which is obviously Burnsall: here the church is not only misplaced, but a wrong dedication is attributed to it. It is probably that the compiler, who does not mention Bolton,¹ confused it with St. Wilfrid's at Burnsall, relying upon untrustworthy information. If the statement had been true as regards Burnsall, we might have had evidence for an early cult of St. Cuthbert in Wharfedale, which, whatever its origin, would have explained the attribution of this dedication to a neighbouring monastery. This clue, however, is wanting, and we must look elsewhere.

One slight clue is suggested by the dedication of the priory of Worksop to St. Mary and St. Cuthbert. It is true that there was no immediate connexion between the priory of Embsay and William de Luvetot, the founder of Worksop, and there is some uncertainty with regard to the exact year in which Worksop was founded. The traditional date is 1103, but this is improbable from more than one point of view. It was not until after 1116 that William de Luvetot succeeded to the inheritance of his father, Richard, and there is no record that Richard had any share in the foundation of the house of canons at Radford, on the outskirts of Worksop.² The archbishop T., to whom the charter in which William notifies his endowment of the canons of Worksop is addressed, was without question Turstin,

¹ There seems to be a little doubt whether the double dedication was actually transferred from Embsay to Bolton. The single dedication to St. Mary was habitually applied to Bolton, and only St. Mary is shown upon the seal of the priory. The chapel at Embsay was afterwards regarded as specially dedicated to St. Cuthbert, and it was no doubt for this chapel that an image or picture of the saint was painted at York in 1321-2 (Whitaker, *Craven*, p. 399). Whitaker quotes a payment in 1318-19, relating to a statue of St. Cuthbert at Embsay (*ibid.*, p. 363). There is no mention of Embsay in the Durham list of churches.

² See Farrer, *op. cit.*, iii, 3-5, for the early descent of the Luvetots.

as Thomas II died in 1114. If we accept 1120, the second year of Turstin, as the date of foundation of Embsay, we have no means of proving that Worksop was the earlier foundation. This discussion may seem irrelevant, until we consider that William de Luvetot succeeded, possibly through his mother, to a fee in Huntingdonshire, formerly held by Eustace the sheriff, which appears to have carried with it the patronage of the priory of Huntingdon.¹ There is said to be evidence that Worksop Priory was colonised from Huntingdon.² A relation is thus established between Worksop and Embsay, which has its bearing upon the identity of dedication. The reason for the introduction of St. Cuthbert is still left unexplained, but, if Huntingdon was in both cases the parent house, the reason may be sought there rather than in any local tradition of St. Cuthbert in Craven. It has been already said that the composition between Bolton and Huntingdon in 1194-5 seems to have been ratified at Worksop. The evidence of the canons of Worksop was no doubt valuable and had its influence in determining the disputed point.

The settlement at Embsay presumably followed soon after the grant of the vill by William Meschin. As has been stated, William Meschin died about 1132. His barony was divided between his two daughters, of whom the younger, Alice, became the heir of the Rumilly lands in Craven which belonged to her mother, and, with lands in other counties, constituted the honour of Skipton. She was married to William, son of Duncan II, king of Scotland, and nephew of David I. At some period after the death of William Meschin, his widow and her son-in-law joined in a grant of the vill of Kildwick to the church of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert of Embsay. The charter of Cecily grants

the whole vill of Kildwick, with the mill and the soke of the mill, with the game enclosure (*haga*) and all the appurtenances in wood and in plain, as far as Aspsiche, and in waters and in grazings, and common of the whole pasture, in pure and free alms, and quit of all worldly service and custom; and the whole land which Reynald Revel held in Strattona, for the salvation of my soul and those of my parents. So that I and my son-in-law William, nephew of Duncan (*sic*) king of Scotland, have offered the same vill by a knife upon the altar of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert.³

To this the names of fifteen witnesses are appended. This charter bears signs of having been inaccurately printed from a late copy. A facsimile of a genuine charter of William FitzDuncan is given by Whitaker.

W. son of Duncan, to all the men of Craven, both French and English, greeting. Know ye that I have granted to the Lord God and to St. Mary and St. Cuthbert of Ameseia, and to the

¹ *Ibid.*, iii, 5.

² Mackenzie Walcott makes the statement with reference to Worksop in his list of monasteries in *English Minsters*, vol. ii, but without giving any authority.

³ *Monasticon*, vi (i), 203.

canons of the same place the whole vill of Childeuic, with the mill and with the soke of the mill, and whatsoever appertaineth to the aforesaid vill in wood, in plain, in waters and grazings, in alms, freely and quit of all worldly service, for the salvation of my soul and those of my father and mother and my wife and our ancestors. Witnesses: Adam son of Suanus, and Ranulf de Lindesia, and Walter de Uianeis, and Robert son of Engerramus, and Durand, and William de Archis, and Helton Malleurer, and Richard son of Elsulf, and Roger Tempeste, and Simon son of Gospatric, and Roger Fasiton, and Aldred son of Ulfus, and Ranerus his brother, and William de Rislestona, and Drew the scribe (*Drogone breuifactor*).¹

There is a further confirmation by Cecily and her second husband, Henry de Tracy, of the whole of Kildwick, "with tithes and oblations, and the commodities appertaining to the same vill, with the mill and the whole ditch of the mill."² These grants obviously included the parish church of St. Andrew, which was confirmed and appropriated by Turstin to Reynald the prior, and "the holy college of St. Cuthbert of Embsay."³ Their date lies therefore between 1132 and Turstin's death in 1140. It is interesting to notice that at a later date a yearly pension of £5 6s. 8d. was paid out of the fruits of Kildwick Church to the prior and convent of Huntingdon,⁴ which we may assume to be the composition by which the prior and convent of Bolton, under the award of 1194-5, acquitted themselves of their subordination to the parent house.

Somewhere between 1135 and 1145, during her widowhood, Cecily granted to the canons of Embsay the mills of Harewood with the whole multure of the place, excepting Brandon and Wigton.⁵ This charter was witnessed by her elder daughter, Amice, sometimes called Avice, who was the actual heir of the fee of which Harewood was the centre. This fee, which she had inherited from her father, William Meschin, passed eventually from her to William de Curcy, her son by her first marriage. At the time of Cecily's charter, Amice had lost her first husband. Her son and heir William witnessed a later charter, by which she renewed her mother's grant with the same exceptions:

To wit, that no mill shall be made, except at Brandon and Wigton, in the whole land that appertains to the parish of Harewood, to wit in Harewood, Newhall, Stockton, East Keswick and half of Wike, Lofthouse, Stubhouse, Weardley, Alwoodley, Dunkeswick, Weeton, and in all the parts of the same. To this she added a gift of two carucates of land in Weeton, and a carucate and a bovate in Rawdon.⁶ The fee of Meschin included one

¹ Whitaker, *op. cit.*, facing p. 162.

² *Monasticon*, vi (i), 204.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁴ *Tax. Eccl.* (Record Comm.), p. 300.

⁵ Farrer, *op. cit.*, iii, 467.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 467, 468.

of the two manors in Yeadon, the second of which had passed after the Conquest to Alan de Percy. A carucate and a half of land in one of these were given by Robert, son of Mauger, to the canons of Bolton, and were confirmed to them between 1175 and 1190 by his nephew, William Vavasour, with the consent of his sons, Robert and Mauger.¹

Among the charters printed in *Monasticon* is one of William FitzDuncan and Alice de Rumilly, his wife, addressed to Turstin and to Osbert, archdeacon of York, and recording their grant to the church and canons of Embsay of the church of All Saints', Broughton.² As the first two witnesses are Alexander, abbot of Kirkstall, and Benet, abbot of Salley, monasteries which were not in existence until some years after the death of Turstin, this document is spurious, though it may embody an actual fact. The confirmation by Archbishop Henry Murdac of the grant of the church of Long Preston by Walter d'Amundeville to the prior and college of St. Cuthbert of Embsay, which is witnessed by Osbert of Bayeux, archdeacon of York, must have been made about 1148-50, shortly before the removal to Bolton.³

A memorandum in the MS. used for the compilation of the account of the priory in *Monasticon* gives the date of this translation of the site as 1151,⁴ adding, however, that it took place in the first year of Henry II, which cannot have been the case, if 1151 is right. It appears that by this time William FitzDuncan was dead. His name does not occur in the early charters of Bolton, which were granted by Alice de Rumilly in her own name, her gift of the manor of Bolton being made with the consent of her children. This latter charter shows that the grant of the new site was the result of an exchange of property with the canons, who surrendered the two manors of Stirton and Skibden to Alice.

Be it known to all the sons of holy Church, both of the present time and of time to come, that I, Alice de Rumelli, with the consent and assent of William my son and heir, and of my daughters, have given, granted, and by this present charter have confirmed to God and to the canons regular of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert of Embsay, the whole manor of Bolton with all its appurtenances, in wood and plain, in waters, meadows and grazings, by these boundaries; to wit, from Lumgill (*Lumgila*) beneath the game enclosure which is called Lobwith, even as it (*i.e.* Lobwith) comes down from the moor which is called Lobwithslec along the same Lumgile even to the water of Wharfe, and so up along the same water as far as Barden Beck (*Berdenbec*); and so by Barden Beck as far as Crossekelde, and to the road which goes by Merebec, which is the boundary between Bolton and Halton; and so westward to Hameldune, by the boundaries of Berewick until one comes again to Lumgill Head

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 481, 482; also *Monasticon*, vi (i), 206.

² *Monasticon*, vi (i), 204.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

on the moor by Lobwith; with all the liberties and free customs that I or any one of my ancestors may have had or might have in the same manor, without any exception, in free, pure and perpetual alms; in exchange for two manors which belonged to the canons, to wit Stretone and Skibdune. Wherefore I will and command that the aforesaid canons have and hold the aforesaid manor of Bolton, with all its appurtenances, by the aforesaid boundaries, with all the liberties and immunities that man can give, well and in peace, freely, and quit and freed from all worldly service, custom and exaction appertaining to any mortal whomsoever, as free, pure and perpetual alms, for the salvation of my soul and those of my predecessors and successors. And this exchange I and my heirs will warrant for ever to the aforesaid canons. These being witnesses: William my son of Egremont, Adam son of Suan, Henry son of Suan, Osbert the Archdeacon, William Fleming (*Flandrensi*), Arthur, Helto Mauleverer (*Maloleporario*), Jordan son of Essulf, Roger Tempest, Roger Faisington, Simon Muhaunt, Peter of Morton, He of York, William of Rilleston, Ketel son of Torfin, Robert Macun, Edward the Chamberlain, Roger Muncin, Aubrey son of Clibern, Adam of Fernhil, Hamo Fauvel, Geoffrey Mori, and many others.¹

The exchange notified in this document was confirmed by a charter of Henry II, dated at Nottingham, and witnessed by Earl Reginald, in which the canons are called the canons of St. Cuthbert in Craven.² It is obvious that, if this followed directly upon the grant, as it probably did, we must shift the date of translation from Embsay to Bolton to 1154-5 at the earliest.

A second charter of Alice de Rumilly, granted after the migration had actually taken place, confirmed to the canons their existing possessions of her fee.

Alice de Rumilly to all the sons of holy Church, greeting. Know all of you that I have granted and by this present charter confirmed, for me and my heirs, to God and to St. Mary of Bolton, and the canons serving God therein, all those lands and possessions which William Meschin and Cecily de Rumilly gave and granted to the said church of blessed Mary and St. Cuthbert of Embsay, and to the canons of the same church, who then dwelt at Embsay, and now dwell at Bolton, having been transferred from the said place of Embsay to Bolton by my will, assent and ordinance; to wit the vill of Embsay with all its appurtenances in wood and plain, waters, moors, grazings and pastures, namely in length from the boundaries of the vills of Skipton and Skibden, as far as the boundaries of the vill of Rylstone and Barden, and in breadth from my demesne game enclosure of Crokeris as far as the Routandebek, without any exception; the vill of Kildwick, with the mill and the soke of the mill and the game enclosure, and all its other appurtenances in wood and plain, waters, moors,

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 203-204.

² *Ibid.*, p. 204.

grazings and pastures, namely from the boundaries of Farnhill as far as the boundaries of Silsden, to wit as far as Aspesike, and so along the course of Aspesike even to the water of Aire, without any exception. I grant also and confirm to the same canons the place which is called Stede, and the whole land between Poseford and Spectebek and the water of Wharfe and Walkesburn. Moreover I give and grant, and by this present charter confirm to the aforesaid church of Bolton, the same place and the whole vill of Bolton, to found therein a church of canons regular, with all its appurtenances and its right boundaries, even as it is clear in my charter which they have thereof. And in Skipton four *mansurae* of land, and in Malham twelve bovates of land, which Helto Mauleverer gave them. Moreover I grant to the canons of the aforesaid church of Bolton free chase in all their lands and woods in my fee, to chase and take all manner of beasts, and every tenth beast that is taken in my chase, in my demesne woods and chases in Craven. Wherefore I will that the aforementioned church of St. Mary of Bolton, and the canons of the same church, shall have and hold all the abovesaid lands and possessions and liberties well and in peace, rightfully and honourably, freely and quit, in free, pure and perpetual alms, without any exception for ever, as freely as any alms can most freely be granted or confirmed, These being witnesses: Adam son of Swan, Henry son of Swan, Osbert the Archdeacon, William Flamang, Helto Malleverer.¹

A separate charter of Alice de Rumilly, relating to Kildwick, is printed among the documents in *Monasticon*. This is a grant in frankalmoin to the canons of Bolton of the whole vill of Kildwick, with tithes and oblations, and with the whole mill and its soke, thus repeating the grant made to Embsay by Cecily de Rumilly and her second husband, but adding special mention of the land held by the canons in Farnhill and Cononley. The mill rights are expressly reserved to the grantees:

So, verily, that another mill shall not be made or had within the soke by any man without the will and assent of the canons. And, if any man of the aforesaid soke refuse to come to the aforesaid mill, and be found coming from another mill that is not accustomed, his sack and his corn and his horse shall be forfeit to the canons.

The first witnesses to this charter are Osmund the chaplain, probably the parish priest of Kildwick, and his son Simon, and among the rest is John the chaplain of Skipton.²

The confirmation by letters patent of the gifts made to the monastery, which was granted by Edward II at York on 18 March, 1311-12, for a fine of twenty marks, enumerates the following charters of the founders.

1. William Meschin and Cecily de Rumilly to Reynald the prior. The church of Skipton with the chapel of Carlton, and the vill of Embsay.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

² *Ibid.*, p. 204.

2. Cecily de Rumilly to Embsay. The vill of Kildwick with the mill, etc.

3. The same to the same. The mill of Silsden with all mul-ture, etc.

4. Alice de Rumilly to Bolton. The vill of Kildwick with the mill, etc.

5. The same to the same. The place called Stede, and all the land between Poseford and "Speciesbec" and from the Wharfe to Walchesburn.

6. The same to the same. The place and vill of Bolton, with eight shillings rent in Halton from the land of Haldred son of Cliburn, and four *mansurae* of land in Skipton.

7. The same to the same. Confirmation of twelve bovates of land in Malham, the gift of Halto Mauleverer.

8. The same to the same. Free chase in the lands and woods of her fee, and every tenth beast taken in her demesne woods and chases in Craven.

9. The same to the same. A plot of land in their several vills and hamlets, for making their tithe-barns. Also common pasture in autumn for all their beasts that shall carry their tithes, in woods, moors and fields, with Alice's own beasts, and of free passage for such carriage with wains, carts and horses, over the pastures and lands of Alice, wherever they will.¹

To these we can add the charter by which Henry II granted to the church of St. Cuthbert of Embsay and the canons a fair at Embsay, to last for three days at the feast of St. Cuthbert in autumn, *i.e.* the translation of the saint on 4 September, with the tolls and customs which the king had granted for the fair at Richmond, and with protection for men going and returning.² The date of this charter, witnessed by Richard de Lucy at Winchester, is uncertain; but the address to the canons of Embsay indicates that the removal to Bolton had not yet taken place, although it is, of course, possible that preparations were already on foot. Thus the date 1151 is shown to be too early, and, whenever buildings were ready for occupation at Bolton, the final arrangements for the transfer can hardly have been made before 1155. The charter of Henry II was confirmed by Edward I, 29 March, 1305, when a further grant was made to the prior and convent of Bolton of a fair at Embsay, extending over five days instead of three, *viz.* the three days before the feast, the feast and its morrow.³

These grants sum up the early endowments of the monastery at the time of the migration to Bolton. The reason for that migration, to which, it need hardly be said, there are numerous parallels, was probably the greater convenience and amenity of site afforded by Bolton as compared with the high and barren situation of Embsay. It is impossible to attach serious belief to the popular legend which attributed the foundation of Bolton Priory to the sorrow of

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 205.

² *Cal. Charter Rolls*, iii, 51

³ *Ibid.*

Alice de Rumilly for the death of her son by drowning in the Wharfe, especially as the "boy of Egremont" was a witness to the quite unromantic transaction by which Alice confirmed the exchange of land which placed the canons in possession of the site. The tale, moreover, belongs to a class which includes the legend of the foundation of Kirkham Priory by Walter Espec in memory of a son who fell over a cliff with his horse, and other stories of the same kind, indigenous to places whose natural beauty appeals to romantic sentiment. At the same time, while the tradition has no historical ground, it has been enshrined in noble verse, for the sake of which it may be regarded with some tenderness. We may well deal gently with a legend which has been a fertile source of inspiration to great literature and art.

At this point we may proceed to trace briefly the descent of the patronage of Bolton Priory from the original founders. Alice de Rumilly married a second husband, Alexander, son of Gerald, and it is probable that she survived William of Egremont, her son by William FitzDuncan. The honour of Skipton descended to her daughter, also by her first husband, Cecily, who married William of Blois, count of Aumâle and lord of Holderness, the founder of Meaux and Thornton Abbeys. Their daughter and heiress, Hawise, married, as her second husband, William des Forz (*de Fortibus*), earl of Albemarle, who died in 1195. Their honours came to their son William, who succeeded to the earldom of Albemarle on the death of his mother's third husband, Baldwin de Betun, in 1213, and died in 1241. His son, the third William des Forz, who died in 1260, married twice, and by his second wife, Isabel de Redvers, countess of Devon in her own right, had three sons and two daughters. The younger daughter, Aveline, survived the others and inherited the earldom of Albemarle; she married Edmund, earl of Lancaster, son of Henry III, and died in 1273. The honour of Skipton at her death escheated to the Crown. By the grant of Skipton Castle to Robert de Clifford, in 1310,¹ the patronage of Bolton came to the family in which it remained until the suppression of monasteries.

The marriage of William des Forz to Isabel de Redvers reunited the fees of William Meschin and Cecily de Rumilly, for Isabel had inherited from her brother, the earl of Devon, among other possessions, the lordship of Harewood and the group of neighbouring manors, which, on the death of William Meschin, had passed, as we have seen, to his elder daughter, Avise or Amice, and had descended to the house of Redvers through her grand-daughter, Alice de Curcy. The countess Isabel made large endowments to Bolton out of her Yorkshire fee. In the charter of confirmation by Edward II these are summarised as follows:

The grant also and confirmation, which Isabel des Forz, countess of Albemarle and Devon, and lady of the Isle (of Wight), made to God and to the aforesaid church and canons of Bolton, of

¹ See *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1307-1313, pp. 220, 273, 279. The full grant bears date 7 September, 1310. See the grants of 5 August (for term of life) and 7 September, printed by Whitaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 227, 228.

the vills of Wigton and Brandon with all their appurtenances; and of a messuage, a toft and two carucates of land in Weeton and Healthwaite, with all their appurtenances; and of a messuage and nine bovates of land with all their appurtenances in Rawdon; and of six burgages in Harewood, and three assarts which are called Bancroft, Wytlaycroft and Augrum, with all their appurtenances in the same town; and of two acres of land at Kerebidam; and of the mill of Harewood, and Hetheryk, with the suits of the whole parish aforesaid of Harewood, and with attachment of stanks in the lands of the same Isabel, as often as shall be necessary; and of twelve cartloads of wood, to be taken yearly in the same Isabel's wood of Langwode; and of all the other lands and tenements which the same canons have in Weeton, Healthwaite, Harewood, Weardley, Wigton, Brandon, and Rawdon, and everywhere in the same Isabel's fee of Harewood, of the gift and grant of her or her ancestors. The grant also which the same Isabel made to God and the aforesaid canons of Bolton, of the said mills of Harewood, with all that plot of land which is called the Mill Green, even as it is enclosed with a ditch; and of leave to cleanse, scour, and also to enlarge the stank and conduits of the said mills from the land of the same Isabel, if it be necessary, as often as it may seem expedient to the said canons.¹

Of the two charters mentioned here, the second, referring to the mills of Harewood, merely confirms, with additional details, similar grants of Cecily and Amice de Rumilly. The first, with its extensive grants in the parish of Harewood and in Rawdon, appears to have been made at the end of Isabel's life, as the letters patent of *inspeximus* and confirmation, issued after an inquisition *ad quod damnum* had been held, bear date 1 December, 1291. They contain the text of the charter with the names of the witnesses, viz. John of St. Helen, Richard de Affeton, Robert de Plumpton, William le Vavazur, Alexander de Ledes, and Simon Warde, knights, and William de Roderton, Robert de Dimmok, William de Langefeud, Geoffrey de Montalt of Leathley, Richard de Wygedon, and many others.²

When Isabel des Forz died in 1293, the descent of the patronage of Bolton from the original founders of Embsay ceased, and a new chapter in the history of the honour of Skipton begins. By that time the canons had been settled at Bolton for nearly a century and a half. Of the early history of the house, apart from what the charters tell us of its property, and apart from the somewhat barren record of the settlement of the dispute with Huntingdon, little is known. The priory produced no chronicler, and its remote situation was out of the way of events which attracted the attention of other monastic historians. The name of none of its priors has survived between Reynald, the prior of Embsay, and John, of whom the first mention occurs in 1212; and of John and his successors, Robert mentioned in 1222 and 1227, Thomas in 1233, Adam in 1255, and

¹ *Monasticon*, vi (i), 205.

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1281-1292, p. 461.

Henry in 1263, we have no further knowledge than is furnished by the casual appearance of their names in documents.¹ These, from John to Adam, were contemporary with Archbishop Walter Gray (1215-1255), the first of the archbishops of York whose official register has survived. No notice of their appointments, however, is given in that record, and the only document directly concerned with the internal history of the monastery to be found in it is a confirmation, undated but placed among the memoranda for 1229-30, of an agreement by the prior and convent to pay a pension of two-and-a-half marks of silver yearly out of their *camera* or treasury to the abbot and convent of Kirkstall, on what grounds it is not stated.² Otherwise, the prior and convent occur merely as presenting incumbents to churches in their gift, to Long Preston (1233), Keighley (1244), Marton (1248), and Broughton (1253-4 and 1254-5).³ None of these churches was as yet appropriated to the house: of Skipton and Kildwick we hear nothing, and we do not know whether at this time they were served by canons or by secular chaplains. The first recorded institutions to Kildwick vicarage (1266 and 1272)⁴, and to that of Skipton (1267 and 1275),⁵ are of secular clerks, and it was not till a later date that it became the custom of the priory to present canons to its vicarages.

The mandate for the induction of Simon of Haplethorp to the vicarage of Kildwick is the earliest document relating to Bolton in the register of Archbishop Giffard (1266-1279). As we have seen, the church had been appropriated to Bolton by Turstin, but no vicarage had been ordained. Giffard, who had only just been translated from Bath and Wells to York, and had not yet arrived in his new diocese, instituted the presentee at Bury St. Edmunds and sent the mandate to the archdeacon of York, calling attention to the requirements of the decree of the Lateran Council of 1215,

that a parish church, if it be annexed to any person in a position of dignity, shall have a fit and perpetual vicar canonically instituted, who shall have a suitable portion of the revenues of the same church; and, if otherwise, (the proprietor) shall know that he is deprived thereof by the authority of the same decree, so that it may be bestowed freely upon another man who will and can fulfil what has been said.

No endowment of the vicarage follows, but the archdeacon is required to see that an annual income of at least ten pounds is guaranteed.⁶

On 1 May, 1267, Giffard confirmed the election of William of Tanfield as prior of Bolton, issuing the mandate for his installation to the archdeacon of York, and requesting the countess of Albemarle

¹ See references in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 199.

² *Reg. Gray* (Surtees Soc.), pp. 235, 236.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 94, 103, 118, 120.

⁴ *Reg. Giffard* (Surtees Soc.), pp. 36, 177.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 253.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 177, 178.

as patron to restore the temporalities.¹ The relations of Giffard with the convent form an interesting chapter in the history of the priory, and the records of the visitations which he held there are of considerable importance to the student of monastic life. For this reason they are translated here. It is obvious that the house was in need of reform and gave him much anxiety. His first visit took place at the end of 1267, probably during his primary visitation of his diocese.

In the year from the Incarnation of our Lord 1267, on the second of December, the current Sunday letter being B, at the visitation held in the priory of Bolton by the venerable father in God Walter, by the grace of God archbishop of York, both in the head and members (of the priory), it was found that Hugh of York is said to be in possession of private property in money, and is the more suspect in this regard, because he is said to have money on deposit, either in the hands of his brother at York, or of his sister, who is a nun at St. Clement's.² The same Hugh was also defamed at one time of incontinence; but the fact of incontinence is not proved.

It was found also that the whole convent took an oath and conspired against the predecessor of William of Danfeld (*sic*) who was prior at the time of the present visitation; from which oath the conspirators pray to be absolved.

Also it was found that John of Pomfret, the cellarer, is of no great profit in his office, and that there are several persons in the convent more suitable for it.

Also it was found that silence is not well kept in the church, cloister, dorter and frater.

Also that the infirm brethren are not well cared for, and are not visited humanely according to the requirement of the order.

Also that John of Otley, although a professed novice, nevertheless does not repeat his service in the order by heart after the manner of regular discipline.

Also that the cellarer and subcellarer, when they have time to spare, are not present at the divine offices or at the collations³ that take place in the convent, and that often, after the convent has had its meals, they regale themselves apart in the frater with more sumptuous meals than the others.

Also that the prior, without asking the consent of the convent, appoints wardens in certain manors, who render, as is thought, no account.

Also the account of the common property and of the offices administered by the obedientiaries is not rendered in common.

Also it was found by the prior's confession and by a writing, sealed with his seal, which he delivered at the visitation to the lord archbishop, that, without previous warning or notice in

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

² *i.e.* the priory of Clementhorpe, close to York.

³ *i.e.* the readings and sermons, usually in the chapter-house before compline.

writing, he excommunicated brothers William Hog and Hugh of York; and, while for this reason he was placed under suspense for a month by canon law, he celebrated mass within the said month.

Also it was found that the monastery of Bolton is bound to various creditors in £324 5s. 7*d.*; but the said debt is not usurious, because it is due not to merchants but to neighbours, and it was contracted by the predecessors of the present prior.

Also it was found that Nicholas of Broc, the subprior, who is stricken in age and is infirm, is not capable of the internal governance of matters spiritual; wherefore, being interrogated touching this by the lord archbishop, he was of his own free will absolved of his responsibility, and the prior and convent were charged to elect another fit person, who shall have the knowledge, ability and will to fulfil the said responsibility praiseworthily. But, because the convent was not unanimous in the election, the lord archbishop brought them to agree, and they chose brother Ralph of Eston as their subprior, who was canonically admitted by the archbishop.

At length, when a discussion had been held upon the position of the said prior, who, by reason of the writing which he had delivered, as is aforesaid, to the lord archbishop, appeared to have incurred a breach of rule, the same prior confessed to some of the convent who bore witness to the same, that he had not excommunicated the said brothers William le Hog and Hugh of York, and that what was contained in the writing concerning the excommunication was not true. The lord archbishop reserved to himself, until the good pleasure of his will, the execution of the penalty to be inflicted on the prior for the lying writing which he had presented to him.

The rest of the matters for correction, even as is contained above, he decreed should be carried out by the prior; except this, that, if the said brothers William le Hog and Hugh of York do not mend their ways, as regards the disturbance of the quiet of the convent, before Easter, from that time both, or one of them, as the lord archbishop shall think fit to decree, shall be sent to another religious house, and there shall he stay until the said lord shall think fit to recall him to the priory of Bolton.

The same lord also reserved to himself the power of making order concerning the debt by which the said monastery was bound at the time of visitation, unless they take wholesome order touching the premises after Christmas.¹

The intermittent character of visitations was always a hindrance to the successful execution of the reforms enjoined by prelates. Giffard dealt leniently with Prior Tanfield for his rather pointless act of deception, and he probably continued to rule the monastery for the next three years. In 1270 he died or resigned, and Richard of Bachampton, elected in his place, was confirmed as prior by Giffard

¹ *Reg. Giffard, u.s.*, pp. 145, 146.

at Leicester on 3 November in that year.¹ In little more than four years Bachampton resigned his office to the archbishop at Otley, on 13 January, 1274-5, when the subprior, John of Pomfret, who had been an unprofitable cellarer in 1267, and the canons submitted to the archbishop's ordinance for the maintenance of the retiring prior.² It is a curious feature of the decree which followed that Bachampton was altogether removed from the monastery and given a home for his life at the village of Ryther, near Selby, where the convent had property. It is evident from the language of the mandate that dissensions had arisen between the prior and convent, and that the two contending parties had to be separated. The archbishop required the monastery to pay a pension of £20 every year at the two terms of Whitsuntide and Martinmas to his receiver at York, who would convey it to the ex-prior, unless they came to some other arrangement with the latter for its payment. The residence of the ex-prior at Ryther, in buildings belonging to the priory, involved the free use of the property with its usual privileges and appurtenances, but without alienation, sale, or dilapidation: in case of ill-behaviour, he might be ejected summarily by the archbishop. Meanwhile, the prior and convent were not to be wholly excluded from their tenements in his occupation. If the prior of Bolton wished to stay at Ryther for assizes, county courts, ecclesiastical synods, or any other business that brought him that way, the ex-prior was to give him lodging, and provide hay and straw for six horses; and, if the two could not live together comfortably, "perchance in case the new prior makes a long stay with a large retinue," the old prior was to betake himself for the time being to some honest place of retreat. Other canons or proctors of the monastery were to be lodged there, when they came, at the expense of the priory, except as regards provision for their horses. The ex-prior was to be furnished with timber for repairs of buildings and ploughs, and with necessary fuel from the woods belonging to the monastery in the neighbourhood, without extravagant waste, under supervision of the cellarer or other surveyor appointed by the convent. Upon his death or possible removal to some other position of dignity or to another monastery, the furniture, household goods, oxen and other stores with which the convent agreed to supply him, together with any goods arising from the property at Ryther which might be left behind, should be reserved to the priory. In conclusion, before the final clauses in which, with the consent of both parties, the archbishop reserved to himself the power of dealing with doubtful points and breaches of the agreement, he inserted the following proviso, which touches the reason of the arrangement:

It is our will, moreover, that henceforward any complaints,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32. The correct reading of the name is possibly Bathampton; but it appears later in the register as Bakhampton. In *Monasticon* he is given the alternative name of Richard de Burlington, for which there is no other evidence. So far as we know it was not until long after the suppression that a "Richard Burlington" had anything to do with Bolton.

² *Reg. Giffard*, pp. 264, 265, 304, 305.

backbitings, or grounds of offence that exist between the said Richard and the canons of Bolton shall be utterly put to rest, and that, when necessary, they shall unite together again in honest zeal, with heart-felt and affectionate respect, to do one another due services, as in advice and help and communications, so that the said Richard, when needful, may undergo diligent toil in sending messages and counsel, at the costs of the house of Bolton.¹

The archbishop's attitude upon this question was so impartial that we cannot apportion the blame for the quarrels that had led to this conclusion between the parties concerned. The bad precedent for the conspiracy of the convent against its head already existed, and had probably been followed on this occasion. The election of a new prior took place within the next two months. At this time the voidance of the priory was in the king's hands, owing to the escheat of the honour of Skipton after the death of the countess Aveline. It appeared from inquiry that, during vacancies, the custody of the monastery had been granted by the patrons to a keeper who occupied the gatehouse: the canons had been accustomed to seek no *cong   d'  lire*, but elected freely and presented their nominee for the approval of the patrons, who in the meantime took nothing from the house but the relief customary upon the installation of the new prior. The king followed this custom, forbidding the escheator to do anything contrary to it, but directing him to restore the issues received during the voidance to the canons, reserving the relief and any exceptional dues that might be customary for the Crown.² On 18 March, 1274-5, the royal assent was given to the election of William Hog³ and on the next day the escheator was ordered to receive his fealty, if the archbishop was willing to confirm the election.⁴

Presumably the confirmation followed. The choice of Hog, however, though it had no doubt the advantages which are claimed as inseparable from free election, may have caused the archbishop some anxiety. Hog, as we have seen, had made himself obnoxious to Prior Tanfield, and in 1267 had been specially noted as one of the two canons who disturbed the peace of the convent. He now came into office as the choice of a convent which had quarrelled with the late prior and virtually driven him out. No sooner had he entered upon his dignity than trouble began again. As far as the story can be made out from the sequel, the house, with the prior as its ring-leader, took offence at some action of the archbishop. Whether the cause of this was the imprisonment of two of the canons by his orders, or whether this act of discipline was the consequence of the unruliness of the monastery, is not made clear. At any rate, the prior endeavoured to induce the sheriff of York to interfere and procure their liberation, and was suspended by Giffard from his office. On 29 September, 1275, Giffard sent a letter from Otley, announcing his

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 306, 307.

² *Cal. Close Rolls* 1272-1279, p. 158.

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1272-1281, p. 83.

⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls*, u.s.

intention of visiting the priory on 7 October, and enclosing certain articles of inquiry.

The lord archbishop proposes to inquire whether William Hog, prior of Bolton, has been in league or conspiracy, or has been a promoter of faction against the same archbishop or any other persons at all.

Also he proposes to inquire who they are that are consenting to the said prior, in the leagues and conspiracies aforesaid.

Also whether the said prior, after his suspension, has ministered in any wise in matters temporal or spiritual.

Also whether the prior has caused any instrument to be sealed with the common seal, in consequence whereof the goods of the house must be wasted and dilapidated, in the prosecution of any conspiracy against the archbishop.

Also whether the rights of the church are falling into decay, or the house suffering any loss because of the prior's default.

Also whether the prior has committed any act of ingratitude against the archbishop, in expelling the bearer of his letters from the monastery.

Also whether the prior, on account of his suspension, hastily resorted to a forbidden tribunal in the county court at York, where he laid a complaint against the archbishop.

Also whether the said prior appealed to the sheriff of York to interpose his influence for the deliverance of his fellow canons, who, according to the sanctions of canon law, ought not to be delivered by the lay power from the distraint of the church; while ecclesiastical persons who are held in lay distraint have been accustomed hitherto to be freed by holy mother Church, and still, if the Lord so dispose, it shall so be done, notwithstanding the endeavour of the said prior.¹

Against the article relating to the expulsion of the archbishop's messenger from the priory is written the word *Fatetur*. This may indicate that the prior had already admitted this act, but the document in the register is merely a copy of the schedule of articles made after the visitation, of which two reports remain. One of these contains the depositions of the prior and canons in detail.

The Visitation held at Bolton on the 7th of October in the year of grace 1275.

The prior, upon examination, says that he himself was the first to take the oath, and that all of the convent took it afterwards; but Robert of Ripon took it with some unwillingness. Also, when asked whether he ministered in matters temporal and spiritual after his suspension, he says that he did not, apart from going to York to obtain from the sheriff of York the deliverance of the canons. Also he says that at table he had ministry done to him as prior, and in the prior's chamber, as aforesaid. Also, when asked whether he caused any instrument to be sealed with the common seal, he says that this was so as regards a proxy for

¹ *Reg. Giffard, u.s.*, pp. 302, 303.

the prosecution of the business that had been set on foot. Asked whether the house has suffered damage because of his default, he says that it has not, but has been improved, save that he gave roos. because he had not gone to the countess of Albemarle to do fealty for the land at Harewood.¹ Asked whether he made complaint to the sheriff of York on behalf of his canons, he says that he did, both to him and to others.

Also the whole convent, with unanimous assent, renounced the sworn league and conspiracy made against the archbishop.

Brother Roger of Ingoldeby, the subprior, sworn and examined, says that a sworn league and conspiracy was made by the prior against the archbishop, because the prior used words of inducement, saying, "I shall see who has taken the oath," and afterwards he said with a threat, "I shall see who will consent." And the convent swore in some fear, and this sworn deponent says that he took the oath against his conscience. Also he says that the prior, after his suspension, ministered in all things as prior, with the exception that he did not come into choir, chapter, or frater, remaining in the prior's lodging; but in general discussion² he behaved himself as prior. Also, sworn and examined, he says that a proxy was sealed with the common seal for the prosecution of the business that had been set on foot; and, if that business had been prosecuted on the lines of the conspiracy made against the archbishop, the house would have been confounded and destroyed without remedy. Also he says that by the prior's default the house has suffered loss to the amount of twelve marks, in costs and in the gift of a horse and in cash, because he did not go to the countess of Albemarle to do fealty for the land of Harewood. Also he says that the prior ordered the bearer of the archbishop's letters to be expelled from the house. Asked how he knows this, he says that the prior told him so, and enjoined him to enquire who gave the messenger lodging. Also he says that the prior went to the sheriff of York and the escheator and others, to complain of the archbishop and to deliver the canons by the secular power.

Sworn and examined, he says that the obedientiaries sometimes stay too long in their offices, and they roam out of doors too much, so that the divine office is hindered.

John of Pomfret, John of Otley, and Brother William Marshall, sworn and examined, agree in all things with the preceding deponent.

Brother Reyner, sworn and examined, agrees with the preceding, with this addition, that there is one lay brother in the cellar with the cellarer, and formerly there used to be only one lay brother there or one canon.³

¹ Isabel des Forz was lady of Harewood in her own right, and kept that inheritance on the death of her husband.

² *Parlamento*. Archbishop Wickwane in 1280 forbade *communia parlamenta* in the absence of the prior, by which informal discussion of convent business outside chapter is implied.

³ *i.e.* the cellarer and a lay brother looked after the *cellarium* between them,

John of Lund, sworn and examined, says that he has heard tell that the prior caused ministry to be done to him in outward show as prior, after his suspension. He adds also that, as the last witness has deposed, there are two subcellarers, and also so many obedientiaries that the divine office is very poorly attended. Otherwise he agrees with the preceding deponents.

Brother Thomas of Alne, sworn and examined, agrees in all things with the preceding deponents.

Nicholas of Pomfret, sworn, etc., agrees, etc. Concerning the obedientiaries, he likewise agrees with John of Lund.

Robert of Ripon, sworn and examined, agrees in all things with the subprior, and adds that the prior, after his suspension, enjoined the convent, in virtue of obedience, to behave themselves unanimously at the visitation; and so did he minister in things spiritual. He says also that the prior's esquire has two boys in the house, who are maintained out of the goods of the monastery; and he has another burdensome household.

Brother Hugh of Nesfield, sworn and examined, disagrees with the preceding deponents in all things. Nevertheless he agrees in this, that he took an oath with the rest of the convent, when the prior said in an angry mood, "I shall see who will take the oath with me." Concerning the fact that the prior caused ministry to be done to him as prior at table, he agrees with the preceding deponents, adding that he has learned all this from hearsay.

Arnald du Clay (*sic*), sworn and examined, knows nothing save by report, because he did not then belong to the house.

Brother Elias of Blyth, sworn and examined, agrees with the preceding deponents.¹

The second document relating to this visitation is the recitation of the findings against the prior, collected from the above evidence and his own admissions, followed by the sentence of deposition. All the articles of enquiry were proved against him, conspiracy with certain of the canons, ministry in temporal matters as prior after his suspension, when he had himself served with a towel at table in virtue of his office, and in spiritual, when he enjoined the canons to hold together at the visitation, the sealing of documents to the prejudice of the house, damage to the house by his slackness and default, the expulsion of the archbishop's messenger, his resort to an alien tribunal, and his attempt to call in the secular arm. He was formally deprived of his office as undeserving and as a source of damage, and the archbishop decreed that he should be removed to another priory.² His destination is not stated, and we hear no more of him.

A mandate was immediately issued for the election of a new prior. Hog was deposed on 7 October, and on the 9th the convent

whereas previously there was only one person in this office, either a canon or a lay brother.

¹ *Reg. Giffard, u.s.*, pp. 320-322.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 303, 304.

met in chapter and appointed the 19th as the day for the election. On that day they met, thirteen in number, one of whom, William of Wetherby, had not been present at the visitation, and, after invoking the aid of the Holy Ghost, proceeded to discuss the method to be followed. Three ways were open to them, election by acclamation or general consent, known as *via Spiritus sancti*, election by compromise, *i.e.* by the appointment of electors, and election by scrutiny of votes. The third method was chosen, the subprior, William Marshall, and John of Otley acting as scrutineers. The election of John of Lund was probably a foregone conclusion, as all cast their votes for him, he himself voting for Thomas of Alne. After his consent had been given with the reluctance which the successful candidate was expected to exhibit on these occasions, the election was made public, the decree drawn up and sealed, and letters of presentation made out to the archbishop, appointing John of Otley and a secular clerk named Master Thomas of Dinnington proctors of the convent to obtain the confirmation.¹

The royal assent to the election was given on 2 November, 1275,² but the record of the confirmation by the archbishop is wanting. With the casting out of William Hog the atmosphere of conspiracy which for some years past had been a disastrous element in the life of the monastery was removed, and the choice of the new prior seems to have been wise. One of his early official acts is recorded in Giffard's register, indicating the burdens under which monastic finance laboured and often made shipwreck. This is the grant of a pension of forty shillings a year out of the *camera* of the priory to a clerk, Richard Handbaud, of Sherburn-in-Elmet, bearing date 6 February, 1275-6. The payment was to last until the prior and convent could see their way to present him to a benefice. It is likely that this was granted at the archbishop's request, as the entry of the document in the register is otherwise difficult to explain. The warning, however, was added that, though the promise of a benefice was intended to hold good, three clerks already, Richard of Wassand, Master Thomas of Dinnington, and Master Adam of Amundesham, were on the waiting list and had prior claims.³ It does not appear that, so far as Bolton was concerned, any of them got past the pension stage. While the existence of such pensioners, who did not tend to decrease in number, was a drain upon the revenues of the convent, they were occasionally of use to it in matters of business. We have already seen Thomas of Dinnington commissioned to deal with the archbishop as a proctor of the convent. Similarly, in giving titles for ordination and presenting promising young clerks to rectories, a monastery gained friends who might be of service; and it is interesting to notice in this context that in 1272 the prior and convent of Bolton had presented to the church of Keighley the dean of York's nephew, Walter Langton, the future bishop of Lich-

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 308-312.

² *Ibid.*, p. 312; *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1272-1281, p. 108.

³ *Reg. Giffard*, u.s., p. 260.

field and treasurer of the Exchequer.¹ Less happy, perhaps, was the impulse which prompted the presentation to the vicarage of Skipton, in 1267, of Stephen of Bradley, who was rejected by the archbishop on the ground of his illiteracy.²

The internal condition of the priory under the rule of Prior Lund is illustrated by the series of injunctions sent to Bolton by Archbishop Wickwane, who visited the monastery on 16 May, 1280, during his primary visitation of the archdeaconry of York.

In order that the rites and customary form of governance or rule in the monastery of the most blessed Mother of God of Bolton,³ with the Lord's help, may not henceforward fall into decay or languish to its reproach in the neighbourhood, we, William, by the grace of God, etc., while in the exercise of our office of visitation and enquiry, with anxious care and according to our strength, in the aforesaid monastery, on the 16th of May in the year of grace 1280, do after the following manner bring back those things which we have found worthy of correction and reform to the straight path of rectitude.

In the first place therefore we enjoin, in the virtue and in the bowels of the Redeemer, that the rule of St. Austin be devoutly observed by all according to their power, together with our special instructions which follow.

Also that the prior, with the utmost discretion, shall be careful to depend upon the advice and assent of his convent and fold, in all matters of difficulty that involve prejudice to the house, and especially in matters of common peril, and shall not, as hitherto, be turned astray to the damage of the community by the advice of suspect persons.

Also we charge the prior from henceforth to go in company with his convent, according to the observances of the rule, like a man and without any feigned excuse, in choir, chapter, cloister, dorter and frater, constantly stirring up all and sundry by his discourses and exhortations to true and unmixed love, and abiding, like a careful shepherd, in the place and district where he bears rule, without gadding here and there.

Also we order that all the offices of the house be furnished with faithful obedientiaries, diligent men and discreet, concerning whom no evil suspicion should be entertained.

We also enjoin upon the prior, in virtue of obedience and under pain of canonical compulsion, that henceforward by all means he restrain his household by chastisement from insults quarrelling, reproaches, and acts of harm to the monastery.

Also we straitly ordain and enjoin in the sight of God, that all the canons shall strictly abide by and attend the divine office without slackness or any pretence whatever. And whosoever shall feign any spurious weakness or infirmity in the church or the in-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 154.

³ On the omission of the name of St. Cuthbert, see note 1 on p. 53 above.

firmly, shall straightway be expelled from the company of his brethren, and shall not be furnished with food or with any things needful until he amend his ways as is seemly.

We charge also that no letter henceforth shall be sealed with the common seal, save in the presence of the whole convent, so that its purport may be made known to each one, and be first approved by all, or by the more and sounder part, that by such precautions evil suspicions with regard to letters, which are sometimes forged, may be avoided.

Also, because default cannot be corrected unless it be conveniently known beforehand, we order, in the bond of true reverence, that within three days lists of all the goods of the house within and without be faithfully written down, after the manner of an inventory, by three of the more discreet members of the monastery who are above suspicion, and be presented to us afterwards together with the total amount of the debts of the house.

Also that twice a year in full convent the several receivers shall render account of their receipts and expenses, that so it may openly appear to all what and how much is reserved for the house, and where, or has been paid out or spent; and we order that rolls and tallies, interchangeable and corresponding, shall be made and assigned to the prior, convent, and the said persons that furnish them, that evil suspicion and the wonted murmuring may be put to rest.

Also we forbid to all and sundry henceforward, save only the obedientiaries, suspect cells and chests under locks; and, as often as they come under suspicion, we order that the locks shall be undone directly by the prior and three persons of this monastery, of approved fealty and honour, so that the zeal and industry of the receivers may be proved.

Also we ordain that henceforward raiment and shoes shall be duly supplied out of the common tailor's shop to everyone, as decency and necessity shall demand, and that the accustomed distribution of money shall be abandoned.

Also we order with discretion that the doors of entry and exit in the cloister and church be carefully and faithfully preserved from the intrusion of strangers, and also from use as a means of egress by the canons, unless unavoidable necessity shall require such entry and egress without harm. But, if any of the canons shall otherwise attempt to go out, he shall be content with bread and water on the morrow, and shall incur other punishment as the sauciness of a rebellious person shall require. Moreover, we utterly forbid from this hour any roaming whatsoever about the moors and woods for any reason whatever.

Also we order that every canon and lay brother shall make his confession humbly and devoutly to his prior, or to someone else deputed for this purpose, according to the precept and requirement of the rule.

Also we inhibit anyone from indulging in any case in drinkings

and messes after compline, unless he be come back, like a guest, from a journey; and then he shall indulge in moderation, after obtaining profitable and necessary leave, yet in such wise that he shall not associate himself in any way with strangers and guests. We also utterly forbid drinkings and meals, which tend to luxury and wantonness, at any other hour whatsoever, together with all kinds of disorderly and unlawful behaviour, even as they will avoid very severe punishment. We utterly forbid the common talking, which hitherto was wont to take place, under peril to any degree or dignity whatsoever in the absence of the prior.

Also we enjoin in virtue of obedience that silence henceforward shall be more surely observed in church, cloister, frater, dorter, and especially in the place of privy retirement, as is more fully contained in the rule.

Also we forbid that any letter shall be received, or even sent out by anyone, unless with leave from the presiding canon.

Also we enjoin that each one shall have his transgressions made public out of charity, and not in the heat of vengeance, and that such publications be not delayed longer than is befitting.

Also we order that constant love and uniform devotion for the worship and service of the Saviour may flourish and increase more than is ordinary.

Also, that, after new raiment is freshly received, the old shall be abandoned, according to the rule, for pious distribution to the poor.

Moreover, we inhibit henceforward any person from being admitted in any wise as a canon or lay brother, unless we first approve of his character and life and have given our assent in this behalf.

We forbid, moreover, that any man or woman shall be admitted as a boarder in the monastery, unless after our most express consent has been obtained.

We enjoin, moreover, in virtue of true and devout obedience, that any dilapidation that is imminent in the church, chapter-house, buildings and enclosures, shall be duly and speedily repaired.

Also we order that, without respect of persons, corrections in chapter shall be made with honest zeal and with the gentleness of charity, and not in any degree, which God forbid, for the sake of vengeance.

Moreover, we will also that the almonry and the infirmary shall be henceforward ordered with due piety and earnestness, to the well-pleasing of God, even as the rule shall direct in this behalf, in order that mutual love also and the courtesy of all may be more fully increased.

We will that the whole convent shall with one mind obey and hearken to the prior as its head, and that the same prior shall guide and treat all in true affection.

We order the premises to be recited every Saturday throughout the year publicly in full convent, in order that by these and other means that lead to merit and grace, we may be brought unto the reward of eternal glory.

Given and performed in the chapter-house of Bolton, on and in the day and year abovesaid.¹

Full comment upon these injunctions, which, to those acquainted with this form of composition, will appeal as a model of drafting, would involve a general discussion of the breaches of rule and custom incidental to monastic life. Such injunctions, though clothed in the language of common form, were actually founded upon the *comperta* of visitations, and cannot be dismissed as merely precautionary.² At the same time, though there was much in the priory that needed correction, and though there are still traces of imperfect mutual charity among its members, the existence of no glaring faults is disclosed. Some of the reforms suggested by Wickwane, a stout disciplinarian, were merely counsels of perfection. At this time of day the separation of the head of the house from its common life was inevitable. It was possible to forbid the canons to walk about the moors and the woods, but it was difficult to enforce a very strict oversight upon their goings-out and comings-in, or to preclude them wholly from intercourse with strangers; and the clauses qualifying such directions could be interpreted with some liberty. The careful orders for the regulation of accounts and the orderly conduct of obediences imply that there was still some negligence in financial matters; but there is no indication that the priory was seriously in debt, and we may fairly conclude that John of Lund, though he might be somewhat inattentive to his duties in choir and cloister, had improved this side of the monastic economy.

During the priorate of John of Lund the prior and convent were called upon to answer a plea of *Quo Warranto* before the king's justices, relating to their right of free warren in various places upon their demesne lands. At an earlier date, in the course of the enquiries which supply the material of the Hundred Rolls, they had been found guilty of encroaching upon the king's highway in three places at Hunketorp,³ and, with others, of buying houses and other buildings in York, which, owing to their purchase by men of religion, had become exempt from the contributions levied upon the citizens and were incapable of escheat.⁴ On this occasion the convent could defend their free warren by a charter of Henry III, which actually bears date 27 February, 1256-7, and granted them that privilege in all their demesne lands of Bolton, Kildwick, Ford, Ridings, How, Halton, Embsay, Eastby, Cracoe, Marton, Malham, Storiths, Wig-

¹ *Reg. Wickwane* (Surtees Soc.), pp. 131-133.

² This subject has been discussed at length by the present writer in the introduction to *Visitations of Religious Houses, dio. Lincoln*, i (Lincoln Record and Cant. & York Societies).

³ *Rot. Hund.* (Record Comm.), i, 111. Hunketorp is Ingthorpe in the parish of Marton.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

ton, Brandon, Wentworth, Street, and Ryther, provided that such lands were not within the king's forest.¹ Relying upon his right to liberties which he and his predecessors had used continually before and ever after the time of Richard I, the prior asked for a jury. The writ included the charge that the convent had a fair and exacted toll in Embsay without the king's licence. The prior admitted that there was a fair on the eve, day, and morrow of St. Cuthbert in September, but said nothing about the authority by which it was held.

The Crown attorney admitted the charter of free warren, but pleaded its abuse. The convent had employed it to put the lands of neighbouring free tenants in warren. He objected that, in addition to the lands over which they could claim the right of chase, they had extended that right to property recently purchased. The fair had grown out of a gathering of men to hold a wake, which they had made the occasion to establish a fair without warrant and to take toll wrongfully. The upshot of the suit is not recorded, but the usual ending of such cases was that the defending party was amerced for his trespass.²

In the record of Kirkby's Inquest, held in 1284-5, the prior and convent appear in connection with holdings in Burnsall, Kildwick, Malham, Rawdon, and Wigton. In the last two places they held six carucates, five of which were in Wigton, of the countess of Albe-marle, amounting in all to three-eighths of a knight's fee. In Burnsall, one carucate was held of them, rented at 3½*d.* A carucate was held by them in Malham of William Mauleverer, who held it of Skipton Castle at a similar rent; while they held another of the Percy fee for no service. In Kildwick they held a carucate in frank-almoyn from time immemorial.³

In 1286 John of Lund resigned his office. Archbishop John le Romeyn, preparing to visit his diocese in the summer, sent notice from Cawood on 30 June that he would be at Bolton on 15 July.⁴ On the day named he appeared, and the result of the visitation is contained in a pronouncement dated from Kildwick on the following day. He found the house heavily burdened with debt, which could not easily be shaken off. By some private arrangement the common goods of the house had been assigned in shares to private members of the body, a custom entirely contrary to the monastic ideal. The archbishop annulled such private grants, in relief of the poverty which the monastery was suffering as a whole. He spoke with commendation, however, of the merits of the prior.

But, behold, because it is not unworthy that we pursue those who have deserved well with the grace of more abundant favour, we, regarding with sympathy the prolonged toil which brother John of Lund, sometime prior of the same place, has profitably

¹ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, i, 462, 463.

² *Plac. de Q.W.* (Record Comm.), p. 212: cf. p. 190.

³ *Feudal Aids*, vi, 8, 11, 18, 20; see also the annotated edition of *Kirkby's Inquest*, etc. (Surtees Soc.).

⁴ *Reg. Romeyn* (Surtees Soc.), i, 53.

spent in his office of rule, to his most evident recommendation, have thought fit to make kindly provision in some notable way, on account of the traces of his former dignity, for him, whom we desire to lead the common life with the convent in cloister and elsewhere.

He was therefore to receive, with the assent of the prior and convent, a yearly sum of twenty shillings, in addition to his daily diet and other necessities,

in order that, after his long labours, he may be refreshed with some greater comfort than the others, which may assuage his weary soul and stir up his successors to more watchful toil.¹

It was probably soon after this visitation that Romeyn ordered the official of the archdeacon of York to warn infringers of the liberties of the priory, who had wrongfully imparked its cattle or otherwise violated its property, that they had incurred sentence of excommunication thereby.² It is rather disappointing that no notice has survived of the appointment of Lund's successor. That his name is John was certain, for John, prior of Bolton, acted as one of the commissaries chosen by Romeyn in 1292 to fulminate his censures against Bishop Bek of Durham in a quarrel which cost the archbishop dear.³ It has also been supposed that Lund resumed his rule, and was identical with the prior who died in 1330.⁴ This idea rests merely upon a casual similarity of names; but the latter prior was John "de Landa," *i.e.* of the Laund, not of Lund.⁵ Moreover, John of Lund, canon of Bolton, was preferred by Romeyn to the priory of Marton-in-Galtres in 1287,⁶ and was still prior of Marton in 1301, when he is called John of Lound;⁷ and, as Lund was obviously not past work, though weary, in 1286, and an active ex-prior, living in his old convent, was not an unmixed blessing, it is quite reasonable to suppose that Romeyn thought fit to translate him, after nearly a year and a half of retirement, to a new scene of action. There may, for all we know, have been more than one prior at Bolton between Lund or Lound and Laund; but the supposed identity depends upon a misconception.

It is clear that the new prior John, whoever he was, was *persona grata* with the archbishop; for a royal licence granted to him, on 28 November, 1291, to appoint attorneys during his absence at the Curia,⁸ synchronises with Romeyn's departure for the same destination. On 17 November the archbishop was about to leave his manor of Compton Abdale, in Gloucestershire, on his way to Dover,⁹ and

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 57.

² *Ibid.*, p. 54. The document has no date.

³ *Cal. Close Rolls* 1288-1296, p. 330.

⁴ As in the list of priors given in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 199.

⁵ This is perfectly clear from the references to them both in *Reg. Melton*, ff. 152d, 154.

⁶ *Reg. Romeyn, u.s.*, pp. 164, 165.

⁷ *Reg. Corbridge* (Surtees Soc.), i, 124.

⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1281-1292, p. 461.

⁹ See the itinerary in *Reg. Romeyn, u.s.*, ii, 199.

it is probable that the prior of Bolton left England with him. Earlier in the year Romeyn, then at Etal, in Northumberland, on 29 May, had sent back to Bolton an apostate canon, William de Lisle, asking the convent to receive their erring brother mercifully, and reserving the ordination of a special penance until he himself came in person.¹

Whether it was owing to the expenses of his approaching journey, or to the immediate needs of the house that the prior of Bolton, about the end of March, 1291, borrowed £60 from William of Hambleton, then archdeacon, and afterwards dean of York, we cannot tell.² Shortly afterwards, on 12 April, there was an exchange of twelve acres of meadow in Ryther with William of Ryther and Lucy, his wife, the convent receiving two acres in addition, with the transfer of tenure by which the lay property was converted into a holding in frankalmoin, and *vice versa*.³ It was at the end of this year that the gifts of property by Isabel des Forz, already mentioned, were confirmed by the Crown. But such acquisitions of land implied heavy initial expenses, and the weight of debt was not lightened.

Some alleviation was afforded by the appropriation of the chapel of Carlton-in-Craven to the prior and convent. It is noteworthy, in view of the visit of the prior to the court of Rome, that the decree issued by the archbishop for this purpose is dated from the monastery of San Martino ai Monti at Viterbo on 19 April, 1292. As we have seen, the chapel of Carlton, as annexed to the mother church of Skipton, had been given with it to the canons of Embsay; but Carlton appears to have acquired the status of a free chapel with its own rector, and the deed of appropriation of Skipton church cannot have been taken to apply to this nominal dependency. Romeyn now reunited it to the church of Skipton, but, instead of leaving it to be served, like most dependent chapels, by a curate, endowed a separate vicarage in it. The preamble of the decree declares that the resources of the monastery,

what with constant floods of waters, and what with the sudden disaster of death that befalls its sheep and cattle, are so exhausted that the canons cannot maintain its accustomed hospitality. It is therefore the more fitting that we should come to their help with sedulous assistance, inasmuch as they are well known to be in need of very manifest aid, both by reason of the losses due to the aforesaid causes, and chiefly because of the heavy taxation of the tenth, lately granted to our lord the king for the aid of the Holy Land, and because of other unwonted exactions, with which they are at present sorely grieved.⁴

Flood and murrain were standing excuses for appropriations, and in neither case, nor in the incidence of taxation, was Bolton worse off than many other monasteries which, charged with the duty of in-

¹ *Ibid.*, i, 111, 112.

² *Cal. Close Rolls* 1288-1296, p. 197.

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1281-1292, p. 444.

⁴ *Reg. Romeyn*, u.s., i, 119, 120.

discriminate hospitality, found it hard to make both ends meet. The returns of the ecclesiastical taxation of 1291 show that the temporal goods of the monastery in the archdeaconry of York, where all its property lay, were assessed at a yearly value of £56 18s. 4d., to which the spiritualities arising from the rectories of Kildwick and Skipton, amounting in gross to £56 18s. 4d., must be added to obtain an approximate idea of income. The rectory of Carlton, taxed at £8, did not mean a very large addition, as a vicarage had to be found out of the fruits of the church.¹ Romeyn assigned the former rectory house as a vicarage, reserving a large barn for the convent, and gave the vicar the demesne of the chapel and a portion of the fruits. He left the actual apportionment to his vicar-general in England, who, on 16 July, ordered the archdeacon to induct the prior and convent into possession.² The suggestion was that the vicar's portion should amount to £5, so that the surplus profit for the convent was small.³

The part which the prior of Bolton took in Romeyn's attack upon the bishop of Durham in 1292 may have had some influence upon this concession to the monastery. It is significant that, on the day after the decree of the appropriation had been sealed by the archbishop at Viterbo, he issued a mandate to the prior, ordering him to proclaim sentence of excommunication upon Bek for the imprisonment of the archbishop's clerks within Allertonshire and the deanery of Darlington.⁴ The delicate task of bearding the enemy on his own ground needed some reward, and the appropriation of Carlton may well have been its price. Romeyn stayed in Italy for some months longer; but it is likely that the prior left Viterbo with his letters in April. The letters of excommunication were entered upon the Close Roll for the year in August, while Romeyn was still abroad, and we know that the sentence was pronounced at Darlington on 23 July, and at Northallerton on the 24th and 27th of the same month. As the vicar-general dealt with the business of Carlton at Wheldrake on 16 July, the prior no doubt delivered his letters there before going northward on his dangerous errand. In May, 1293, Romeyn made his peace with the king over the quarrel with a bishop who, though his disobedient suffragan, was under the special protection of the Crown, by the enormous fine of 4,000 marks, which was actually never exacted, and was forgiven to the archbishop's executors.⁵ The prior appears to have been fined 100 marks for his share in the business, which may be identified with the trespass for which, on 20 April, 1294, he was pardoned 50 marks, the rest of the debt being respited.⁶ It would appear that the respite was indefinite, as it was renewed on 11 November, 1299.⁷ The prior, however, had

¹ See *Tax. Eccl., u.s.*, pp. 300, 305.

² *Reg. Romeyn, u.s.*, i, 118.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 107.

⁵ *Reg. Romeyn*, ii, xxx; see *Cal. Close Rolls* 1288-1296, pp. 330-334; *Rot. Parl.*, i, 102-105; and *Prynne, Records*, iii, 456, 560-565.

⁶ *Cal. Close Rolls* 1288-1296, p. 347; cf. *Cal. Fine Rolls*, i, 336.

⁷ *Cal. Close Rolls* 1296-1302, p. 327.

incurred much expense over this affair, and on 12 April, 1295, he acknowledged a debt of £182 to William of Hambleton, who had stood as one of the sureties for the archbishop's fine.¹ Whitaker's extracts from the *Compotus* book show that in 1293-4 the debit exceeded the credit side of the yearly balance-sheet by £44 12s. 0½d., and that the house paid £213 6s. 8d. to the banking house of Frescobaldi.² In December, 1295, the prior, with the heads of other houses who had granted a tenth to the king in the previous year, was given letters of protection.³

In the early months of 1294 Archbishop Romeyn again visited the archdeaconry of York, and announced his intention of coming to Bolton on 17 March.⁴ No record of this visit has survived; but, later in the year, one of the canons, John of Bradford, made an appeal to him upon some ground not specified, and was apparently degraded by the prior in consequence. On 7 October Romeyn requested the prior to restore him to his former rank in the convent, pending the result, in order to avoid the expense and scandal of a suit brought outside the priory by a canon who had lost his position in it.⁵ On 29 November Master Robert of Sausthorpe was sent to Bolton to hear and determine the case.⁶

During the vacancy of the see of York after the death of Archbishop Newark, the prior was one of the commissaries appointed to elect and prefer a new prioress to the nunnery of Arthington.⁷ Later on in the year he paid another visit to the Curia, when letters of attorney were granted on his behalf on 25 September. The reason of this is obscure, and at this time at any rate he was not in the company of an archbishop, as Thomas of Corbridge, who had been consecrated in Rome on 28 February, was back in England in May.⁸ During 1300 the priory acquired the manor of Appletreewick, which had been purchased by James of Eshton from a kinsman for conveyance to the convent.⁹ It had been found by the justices in eyre in 1293 that no licence had been obtained for the purchase, the manor

¹ *Ibid.*, 1288-1296, p. 442.

² Whitaker, *Craven*, p. 384.

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1281-1292, p. 175.

⁴ *Reg. Romeyn*, i, 139.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 145.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i, 146. In 1298-9 the *Compotus* contains entries of payments of 3s. and 16d., the latter paid by the cellarer, to John of Bradeford for travelling expenses of some kind, under the heading *Deportacio canonicorum*.

⁷ *Reg. Romeyn*, ii, 321.

⁸ See *Reg. Corbridge* (Surtees Soc.), i, 1, 19, 118, 150, 200, 284.

⁹ In 1300 a payment of £14 1s. 4d. was made to James of Eshton on account, followed by another of £12 in 1301, when the convent still owed £21 6s. 8d. There is an item of £34 14s. 0½d. in 1300, for the prior's expenses in England and at the court of Rome, and others of £12 and £12 6s. 4d. in 1301, for his expenses at the latter. Whether this implies a personal journey to Rome or not, the expense was no doubt occasioned by payments for licences, etc., in connection with the manor of Appletreewick. £6 6s. 8d. was paid to Italian merchants, the Bernardi, in 1301, for money borrowed by the prior for this business (Whitaker, *Craven*, p. 386).

being held in chief, and for the time being it was taken into the king's hand. Subsequently James of Eshton obtained a stay of execution by making fine before the justices, and on 1 April, 1300, he had licence to alienate it in mortmain to the prior and convent, in spite of the fact that the king lost thereby service for one-sixth of a knight's fee, with the profits arising from feudal incidents. The manor was extended at £16 12s. 6d.¹ During the next few years the convent obtained further property which consolidated their holding in Appletreewick. On 14 October, 1301, Walter Langton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and master of St. Leonard's Hospital at York, had licence for the exchange of rent there for rent in York.² Two licences of 20 June, 1304, concerned an exchange of one rood of land in Appletreewick for another with the prior and convent of Marton, and the grant of half a rood, held by knight service, from Adam and William of Woodhouses.³ On 15 November, 1304, and on 4 February, 1306-7, William Desert had licence to alienate four bovates in the first case, and four tofts and three bovates in the second, with the homage and service of Henry of Keighley, the tenant of one bovat, and his heirs.⁴ The deed by which James of Eshton had conveyed the manor was inspected and confirmed on 16 August, 1310,⁵ and on 9 September following Edward II, at the instance of Piers Gavaston, granted the prior and convent free warren in all the demesne lands of the manor, and a yearly fair at Appletreewick for the two days before St. Luke's day, the feast and its morrow.⁶ No advantage was taken of this grant at the time, and it was renewed by Edward III on 23 February, 1327-8.⁷ On 5 May, 1317, however, the trespass of James of Eshton in acquiring the manor was brought to the memory of the convent, in spite of the apparently secure tenure which they had since obtained by royal licence, and they had to pay £10 as a fine for a grant to hold the manor without disturbance on account of this old offence.⁸

No record is left of the visitation which Archbishop Corbridge proposed to hold at Bolton on 23 June, 1301,⁹ but, as he was at Guiseley on 20 June and at Long Preston on the 29th,¹⁰ there is no doubt that it took place. We have seen that the church of Long Preston had passed into the patronage of the prior and convent about the middle of the twelfth century. It had remained unappropriated however; but the benefice was of considerable value, and was taxed

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1292-1301, p. 506: see *ibid.* 1313-1317, p. 645.

² *Ibid.*, p. 310.

³ *Ibid.* 1301-1307, p. 233.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 268, 496.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1307-1313, p. 279.

⁶ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, iii, 106. Piers Gavaston was at this time in possession of the honour of Skipton.

⁷ *Ibid.*, iv, 60.

⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1313-1317, p. 645.

⁹ *Reg. Corbridge*, i, 50n.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, i, 52.

in 1291 on an income of £33 6s. 8d. a year.¹ On 10 February, 1303-4, the convent obtained licence from the Crown to appropriate it, for which they paid a fine of £50 in the Exchequer.² This fine was paid by 1 May following, having been assigned on 9 April to certain merchants of Bayonne, in part payment of a sum of £500 which the king owed them for bringing a suit in his behalf against a certain William Saut of the same place.³ The prior acknowledged that he owed them the £50 on 17 April, and so paid up speedily.⁴ Before this, on 26 February, Archbishop Corbridge decreed the appropriation in a document, the preamble of which is of great interest for the light which it throws upon the condition of the priory buildings. After recalling the grant of the church by Walter d'Amundeville, and its confirmation by Archbishop Murdac and the dean and chapter of York, it goes on to say, following the language of the petition presented by the convent, that, after peacefully possessing it for many years, they had subsequently been deprived of it by oppressive means. As the prior and convent do not seem to have lost the advowson, this can mean only that, without formal appropriation, they had entered on the rectory, which could have been done easily before the days of the statute of mortmain, and had failed to keep their hold upon it.

Understanding therefore by inspection of the charters granted to you in this behalf, and of apostolic letters and other evidence exhibited before us, that you were for some time in such possession, and considering it a pious and meritorious work to restore with fatherly affection the rights of our subjects which have been lost by their own neglect or by the might of their superiors; perpending also how, by reason of the taxes and extortions that in these days are imposed and ordained, and of the barrenness of the land, which in your parts hardly produces the half of its former revenue, and of your own neighbourhood especially, which, as it is said, suffers not a little from famine, and in which you continually support almost the entire hospitality and maintenance of the poor, being situated almost on the king's highway (albeit your own resources are scarcely sufficient for this), inasmuch as hardly any lodging is to be found elsewhere for strangers or other persons on their way through those parts, wherefore they are compelled to resort to you very often and almost as a matter of necessity—perpending, then, how for these reasons you are oppressed by debt, so that, unless God very speedily shall lend you hands of help, you will barely be able to breathe in order to live of your own goods, being in a state of lamentable poverty; considering also that on account of this a great part of the buildings of your monastery, being built of ash wood, and especially that part above the stalls of the

¹ *Taxatio Eccl.* (Rec. Comm.), p. 300.

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1301-1307, p. 212.

³ *Ibid.*, 219; *Cal. Close Rolls* 1302-1307, p. 135.

⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls* 1302-1307, p. 205.

canons in your choir, is already threatening to fall, and cannot be repaired without great expense¹; we, with charitable compunction on account of the motives aforesaid and other reasons which have been explained to us on your behalf, and wishing to do you special favour, restore you to the possession of the aforesaid church and bring it back to its former state, and also, having received your very devout submission, by our pontifical authority grant and give, and by the protecting power of this present writing confirm the same church, of which you are the true patrons, with all its rights and possessions present and future, to you and to your monastery in perpetual possession for your proper uses, upon the cession or death of Roger, the present rector of the church.

The ordination of the vicarage follows, reserving to the vicar the tithe of wool, lambs, calves, chickens, foals, and all tithes in enclosures in Preston not under tillage, all mortuaries, oblations, and small tithes, with the rest of the altarage, and with the tithes, great and small, of Arnforth. He was to have the former rectory, with its houses, gardens, and common of pasture, housebote, heybote, and all other appurtenances, and nine acres of glebe, now in the hands of tenants, with their tithe. He was absolved from paying tithe of his stock. To the canons was reserved the great tithe-barn with a sufficient area about it for the construction of a *camera* or dwelling-house, and for drying corn in harvest, to be determined, after inspection, by the archbishop or his commissary. The vicar was to undergo all the ordinary burthens, while the extraordinary, including the repair of the chancel, ornaments, and books, were to be divided between the convent and the vicar in the proportion of two to one.²

As a matter of fact, Roger of Skipton, the rector, had already resigned on 11 February, and on the 17th the mandate for the induction of the prior and convent was sent to the archdeacon.³ The convent had been obliged to pay heavily for the privilege, but the rectory meant an eventual accession to their income. At the same time economy was difficult, for even their best friends forced burdens upon them. Twice in 1304, in May and July, the archbishop instructed commissioners to provide a poor clerk, in pursuance of papal letters, and at the special request of Napoleone Orsini, the holder of a rich prebend in the church of York, to a benefice in the gift of the prior and convent⁴; and this implied that, if there were no

¹ Et quod propter hoc magna pars edificiorum vestri monasterii de fraxino constructa, et maxime super stalla canonicorum in choro vestro jam minatur ruinam, que non poterit sine magnis sumptibus reparari.

² *Reg. Corbridge*, i, 82-85. The prior and convent paid 20s. to the archbishop's clerks for writing the charter of appropriation. The account of 1303 also contains entries of 45s. paid to the king for entry upon the church of Preston, the payment of 100s. being pardoned, 100s. paid as "queen-gold," 73s. 4d. paid to the treasurer "for help in divers businesses," and 12s. 2d. to the chancellor *pro favore habendo* (Whitaker, *Craven*, p. 388).

³ *Reg. Corbridge*, i, 83n.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 112 and n.

benefice vacant, the convent would have to find him a pension in the meantime.

What may be inferred from the reference in the decree of appropriation to the state of the buildings is not very clear, and belongs more properly to the architectural part of this volume. It may be said, however, that the rebuilding of the eastern part of the church was yet to come, but that some beginning had been made with regard to the reconstruction of the transept. The language of documents is somewhat vague, and the assertion that a great part of the buildings was of wood may apply merely to the roofs, especially to those above the crossing, where at this time the choir was situate; but it is also possible that the upper stages of the cloister buildings were still partly of wood, and that some of the constructions were of a temporary nature.¹

In December, 1304, the prior and convent of Bolton, with the heads of other religious houses in the county, were called upon to take their share in sending carts and men to York in order to move the treasure of the Exchequer from its temporary home there to Westminster.² It was on the following 29 March that Edward I confirmed to the priory its fair at Embsay, with an extension of two days as already noted, and with a grant of the tolls which had been conceded to the fair of Richmond.³ On 30 March the king confirmed a charter by which Henry le Machon, of Skipton, in return for a sum of money received from the prior and convent "in his need," gave them all his yearly rent in Halton, amounting to 11s. 9d., and quit-claimed to them a rent of 20d. from two bovates of land which they held of him in that place.⁴ On the following day they received letters of pardon for the appropriation of the church of Carlton thirteen years before, for which no licence had been obtained, with leave to retain it in mortmain. We have already discussed the circumstances of that transaction, which occurred at a time at which the archbishop and the prior were both out of favour at court. It is clear that the royal licence had then been evaded or overlooked, and both Romeyn and the prior might fairly have argued that, as the chapel of Carlton was included in the original grant of the church of Skipton, no further licence was needed for the assertion of its dependence upon the mother church. The prior and convent made fine for the pardon which regularised their position before their old friend, Walter Langton, then treasurer of the Exchequer.⁵

¹ In view of the remarkable readiness with which credence is given to irresponsible statements which find their way into print under respectable sponsorship, it may be said here that there is no ground whatever for Whitaker's assertion in a note (*Craven*, p. 384) that "the fabric of the priory church had long been finished in 1294." The entries of fabric expenses in the accounts of 1294 and 1296 may refer to the beginning of the work in the south transept, some of which was done about this time, though it was not finished till much later.

² *Cal. Close Rolls* 1302-1307, p. 224.

³ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, iii, 51. The convent paid £4 5s. 0d. for the confirmation (Whitaker, *Craven*, p. 388).

⁴ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, iii, 52.

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1301-1307, p. 324.

Another official with whom the convent had had many dealings in the past, the chancellor, William of Hambleton,¹ died at Fountains Abbey on 19 April, 1307, "before the dawning of the day." The prior of Bolton was present, for his seal and that of the abbot of Fountains were affixed to the bag in which the great seal was delivered to Robert of Bardelby for temporary keeping.² In this connexion we may note that in September, 1314, the prior and William of Craven acknowledged a debt of £20 to the same Robert³; while, on 10 December, 1307, the prior and convent had licence to alienate a rent of six shillings in Appletreewick in mortmain to the abbot and convent of Fountains.⁴ During 1307 the prior appeared as a witness in the suit brought by Thomas de Multon and Thomas de Lucy for the recovery of the manors of Cockermouth, Skipton, and Radstone,⁵ as part of the heritage of the countess Aveline.⁶ On 4 December in the same year two licences were granted, at the instance of the new king's favourite, Piers Gavaston, by which William of Malham and Alice, his wife, were empowered to grant in mortmain to the prior and convent a yearly rent of £10, arising from houses, land, and the moieties of a piece of land called Gildeflat, a pasture called "le Grove," and a mill in Holmpton, Peniesthorpe, Thorpe, and East Hatfield in Holderness, held in chief as of the honour of Albemarle, together with a moiety of the advowson of the chapel of Holmpton, and the reversion of the same and of land in Ottringham after the death of the life tenant, William of Walcot.⁷

In the course of the next few years there are several entries upon the Patent and Close Rolls with reference to the priory. In June, 1310, the convent was called upon to furnish its share of victuals for Edward II's expedition to Scotland, to be delivered at York on 1 August.⁸ The quota supplied was ten oxen, forty wethers, and forty quarters of oats, for which the king, on 10 December, acknowledged his debt of £14.⁹ A confirmation of charters, already mentioned and analysed, and including the grant of the manor of Appletreewick by James of Eshton, was granted by Edward II at York on 18 March, 1311-12.¹⁰ The fine for this was twenty marks, paid into

¹ In the account of 1303-4 there is a note of payments incurred "in the expenses of Sir W. de Hamelton after Christmas, and of his hunters in the autumn, when they were taking venison in Langstrothdale"; and again, "in bread for Sir W. de Hamelton, when he was in these parts, for his hunters about the chase of Langstrothdale, 22½ quarters of wheat" (Whitaker, *Craven*, pp. 387, 388). Whitaker failed to recognise the identity of "this ancient hunter," then dean of York and chancellor.

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1301-1307, p. 518.

³ *Cal. Close Rolls* 1313-1318, p. 196 (22 Sept., 1314)

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1307-1313, p. 26.

⁵ In Northamptonshire, near Brackley.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, i, 347 sqq.

⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1307-1313, pp. 25, 31.

⁸ *Cal. Close Rolls* 1307-1313, p. 261.

⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1307-1313, p. 299.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 455; *Monasticon*, vi (i), 204.

the wardrobe, for which a receipt was given on 16 March.¹ At the same time the prior and convent gave the king a release of the debt of £16 which he owed them for supplies, and in consideration of this and the fine aforesaid obtained a licence to acquire land and rent in mortmain to the value of twenty marks a year, dated 17 March.² The first property acquired under this licence consisted of eight tofts and four bovates of land in Malham, extended at 34s. yearly, which Ranulf of Oterburne had licence to alienate on 12 September, 1314.³

A second confirmation by letters patent of various grants of property was made on 20 September, 1314. These included (1) six charters of William des Forz, earl of Albemarle, by which he granted on his own behalf the wood of Lobwith with reservation of the venison, the mill of both Bradleys⁴ with its suit and with timber from the wood of Kalder for repairs, and a messuage in Skipton sometime of Bartholomew de Trivers, and confirmed two bovates of land in Stirton given by Geoffrey Mori, and the gifts by William of Marton and his son Peter, of land and meadow in Marton; (2) two charters of William son of Gilbert of Ryther, relating to property in Ryther, Hill, and Dogthorpe; (3) a grant by William of Marton of the mills of Marton and culture of East and West Marton; (4) a grant and release by Sir Hugh son of Henry of lands and tenements in Calton and Airton; (5) a grant and release by John son of John of Eshton of lands and tenements in Halton; (6) a grant by Margaret de Longeville of lands and tenements in "Cuneld,"⁵ Farnhill, and Gargrave; and (7) a grant and release by Henry de Percy of all secular demands and of his entire land of Malham held by the prior and convent in fee.⁶ The date of this general confirmation was also that of a licence by which Thomas de Hauterive had power to alienate to the monastery six acres of land in Carlton, hitherto held of Henry de Percy, in exchange for a messuage and two bovates of land in Lothersden, with the transference of service applicable to such an exchange.⁷

The register of Archbishop Greenfield, who held the see of York from 1305-6 to 1315, is less fertile in information about Bolton than those of his immediate predecessors. It contains two notices of the archbishop's intention to hold visitations, one on 12 June, 1307, and another on 25 September, 1313,⁸ both of which, to judge by other dates in the register, took place. No injunctions, however, remain from either; but one consequence of the first was a new decree relating to the vicarage of Long Preston. This, as we have seen, had

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1307-1313, p. 440.

² *Ibid.*, p. 442.

³ *Ibid.* 1313-1317, p. 173.

⁴ *i.e.* Upper and Lower Bradley, in the parish of Kildwick.

⁵ *i.e.* Cononley. Margaret de Longeville or Lungevillers, the heiress of these manors, married Geoffrey Nevill, and is referred to in other documents as dame Margaret Nevill.

⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1313-1317, pp. 180, 181.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁸ *Reg. Greenfield*, i, fo. 123; ii, fo. 83d.

been ordained by Archbishop Corbridge in 1303-4, but certain details had been left unsettled until further inquiry had been made. Although the rector had resigned and the prior and convent had been admitted into possession, the institution of a vicar was delayed, and it was not until after Corbridge's death in September, 1304, that they presented a vicar for institution to the dean and chapter of York, as guardians of the spiritualities of the see. A new ordination of the vicarage followed, by which its money value, which had not been stated in Corbridge's decree, was fixed at eighteen marks a year, arising from tithe of flax, white,¹ geese, hens, etc., Lenten tithe, all oblations, and tithe of hay of the whole parish, excepting that from the eight bovates of glebe and that of Reiner de Knolle from the manor of Hellifield. As an alternative, the stipend might be paid in cash by the prior and convent at four terms in the year, under pain of twenty shillings for default, to be paid to the fabric fund of the church of York. As before, the vicar was to have the old rectory for his dwelling, with its gardens and buildings, housbote and heybote in Prestgile, and a bovaté of land in Preston, saving to the prior and convent the tithe-barns and a sufficient area for drying grain. The vicar was given an option of the form in which he was to receive his salary during the first year after his institution. The burthens were divided as before, the vicar being charged with a third part of the repair of the chancel, books, and ornaments. To this ordinance, which bears date 17 January, 1304-5, and was confirmed on 20 September, 1307, the archbishop added a clause by which the vicar's stipend, if received in cash, was increased to twenty marks, and the bovaté of land in Preston was freed from tithe.²

The vicarage of Carlton formed the subject of another decree on 30 June, 1311. No vicarage had been ordained as a supplement to Romeyn's decree of appropriation in 1292, although the matter had been left to the discretion of his vicar-general; but, as we have seen, some necessary steps had been omitted from the preliminaries to the act of appropriation, and, although this defect had been supplied in 1305, no effectual provision had been made for a vicar. So far as anything had been done, the division of the fruits between the rectors and a vicar was, as Greenfield remarks in his preamble, indistinct and uncertain, and provided no sufficient sustenance for the latter. With the consent of the prior and convent and of John the vicar, and with legal advice, Greenfield assigned to the vicar all the glebe, extended at the yearly value of 26s., the tithe of hay, wool, cheese, milk, lambs, calves, chickens, porkers, geese, eggs, flax, hemp, orchards, shrubberies, and mills, and all the oblations, mortuaries and small tithes from every source. The house inhabited by the present vicar was annexed to the vicarage, a large barn on the premises being reserved for the use of the convent. In addition, the prior and convent were to pay the vicar a mark every year at Martinmas, under pain of sequestration of their profits for default. The

¹ Sc. silver; a personal tithe upon the wages of craftsmen, labourers, etc.

² Reg. Greenfield, i, ff. 130d, 131.

entire church was taxed at twelve marks, on which assessment the burthens were to be shared *pro rata* between the appropriators and the vicar.¹

At some time before 1312-13 Archbishop Greenfield had made an order that a canon, named William of Appelton, should not be allowed to leave the cloister without special licence from the archbishop himself. This was disregarded by William, who went out of the house one night in secular dress, and, in company with certain accomplices, went poaching in the park of Sir William Vavasour, thereby incurring excommunication. After wandering about for some days in remote parts, he appears to have thought better of his truancy, and went to the archbishop to seek absolution. Greenfield sent him back to Bolton, ordering the prior to supervise his penance. He was forbidden to leave the cloister and the adjoining buildings, church, frater, dorter, chapter-house, and infirmary, under any pretext: he must be with the convent continually, taking the last place everywhere. Every week he was to recite the Psalter, and on Wednesday and Friday to say the penitential psalms and litany humbly and devoutly, prostrate before the altar of our Lady, on which days he was also to receive a discipline² from the president of the chapter, and be content with a single kind of fish. He was prohibited from conversation with lay persons without the president's licence, and from sending or receiving letters which had not first come under the president's eye. It was found that, while he was under sentence of excommunication, he had officiated at mass as deacon: he was not to do this again until he had received dispensation for the irregularity thus incurred. The prior and convent were required to draw up an indenture for the performance of the penance, and certify the archbishop of its fulfilment. This document was issued on 4 March, 1312-13.³ But in the course of the year William got into trouble again for laying violent hands upon a secular clerk named John, who was one of the lay servants of the house. The archbishop once more absolved him, but added to his previous penance the restriction of his fare on Fridays to bread, beer, and vegetables, the recitation of the seven penitential psalms and litany, prostrate before one of the altars of the church every Monday, and a discipline in chapter on the same day. He was also to sit on the ground at the daily chapter, while the other brethren sat on the benches round the chapter-house.⁴ There is, of course, nothing extraordinary about these penances, which follow common forms, but it was not often that they were enjoined in so cumulated a shape. It seems that there was some difficulty in applying the archbishop's order, which was made in August, 1313; for on 8 December Greenfield, following the common practice of removing an unruly monk or canon to another house for correction, sent Appelton

¹ *Ibid.*, ii, fo. 64d.

² *i.e.* a scourging.

³ Reg. Greenfield, ii, fo. 76.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, fo. 81d.

to Thurgarton Priory, while he transferred to Bolton an unruly canon of Thurgarton, named Robert of Morton, whose offences are described with unction.

Setting no watch upon his lips, but, contrary to the teaching of the Apostle,¹ taking delight in debates and envyings, he constantly stirs up strifes, quarrels, and backbitings among his brethren, very often provoking many to wrath, and so disturbing the bond of brotherly love; for which reason very many persons, being thus agitated, become undevoutly disposed for their due services, and withdraw themselves from the celebration of divine worship.

As a remedy for this nuisance the archbishop, quoting from the book of Proverbs, "Where no wood is, there the fire goeth out: so, where there is no talebearer, the strife ceaseth,"² ordered the prior of Thurgarton to send Morton to Bolton, where he was to undergo the penance which had been enjoined in the first instance upon Appelton. In Appelton's case this penance was to be continued at Thurgarton, but without the additional observances mentioned in the previous August.³ This exchange was effected, apparently with as satisfactory results as could be expected from a rather unpromising arrangement; for in April, 1315, the two canons were sent back to their own houses, and the horses and men that took Appelton to Bolton brought back Morton to Thurgarton, with injunctions to avoid opportunities of quarrelling and to remain without any office in the convent until his good behaviour had been proved to be lasting.⁴

On 6 February, 1315-16, letters of protection were granted to the prior and convent, who were probably being pressed by creditors.⁵ We have already noticed that on 5 May, 1317, the possession of the manor of Appletreewick was assured to the convent.⁶ A messuage and six acres of land in the same manor, valued at six shillings, were acquired from Robert of Barden, to whom licence of alienation was given on 20 April, 1317, in pursuance of the twenty marks licence of 1311-12.⁷ Within the next few years three further grants of property were obtained under the same licence, viz. a messuage and four acres of land in Appletreewick, valued at eight shillings, from Peter of Middleton (20 May, 1318),⁸ 3½*d.* rent and the eighty-first part of a knight's fee in Welwickthorpe, E.R., extended at six shillings, from John de la Gaole (2 July, 1319),⁹ and six shillings rent

¹ See 2 *Cor.* xii, 20.

² *Prov.* xxvi, 20.

³ Reg. Greenfield, ii, ff. 89*d.*, 191*d.*, 192.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, ff. 109, 204.

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1313-1317, p. 386.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 645.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 641.

⁸ *Ibid.* 1317-1321, p. 143.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

from two bovates of land in Scosthop, from Thomas of Scosthop (8 June, 1323).¹

In the returns for the early part of the fourteenth century which are printed in the sixth volume of *Feudal Aids*, we have some details of the property held by the prior and convent as fractions of knights' fees, sixteen carucates being counted as a fee. In the *Feoda Militum* of 1302-3 the prior holds in chief of the honour of Skipton five carucates in Halton and Eastby, and a carucate and a half in Scosthop of which the heir of Robert of Scosthop was the sub-tenant. He is sub-tenant of the following property, held of tenants in chief of the same honour: a carucate and a half in Airtton and Calton, of Hugh son of Henry; two carucates and three bovates in Cononley, of dame Margaret Nevill; a carucate and a half in Cracoe, of Sir Ralph Nevill; one carucate in Halton, of Sir Henry de Kightley,² and two more, of John of Eshton; three carucates and six bovates in Marton, of William of Marton; and one carucate in Malham, of William Mauleverer. In Malham also he holds a carucate and a half of the Percy fee, with Thomas of Malham as his sub-tenant. Of the ancient Meschin fee, which had become part of the fee of Albemarle, he holds a carucate in Rawdon and four in Wigton.³ We have seen that in 1307 he had acquired property in Holderness, and in the *Nomina Villarum*, compiled in 1316, he is noted as lord of Holmpton. In the same document he is returned as lord of Appletreewick, Halton with Embsay, Kildwick, and Wigton, and as lord of one of three manors in Cracoe and Rawdon respectively, and of one of two in Farnhill.⁴ In 1317 the escheator found that the property in Holmpton and the other places in Holderness amounted to five carucates, one and a half bovates, held of the king as of the honour of Albemarle by the service due from a ninth of a knight's fee, by homage, fealty, and suit every three weeks at the wapentake of Holderness, and by three shillings a year for castle guard at Skipsea and sheriff's aid, and by scutage when current. On 10 May, 1317, these services were commuted for fealty and an annual payment of ten shillings by the hand of the bailiff of the wapentake, viz., three shillings as before, two shillings for suit at the wapentake in aid of the bailiff's farm, and five shillings in commutation of the rest.⁵

On 8 May, 1317, the prior acknowledged a debt of £10 in Chancery to William of Airmyn,⁶ and a debt of 65 marks was acknowledged to the same clerk on 18 March, 1318-19, by the prior and Robert of Bentley, of which 60 marks was paid to William's brother, Adam, before the chancellor, and payment of the rest followed.⁷ The con-

¹ *Ibid.* 1321-1324, p. 301.

² *i.e.* Keighley.

³ *Feudal Aids*, vi, 105, 106, 107, 114, 118, 119.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vi, 165, 191, 192, 198.

⁵ *Cal. Fine Rolls*, ii, 326.

⁶ *Cal. Close Rolls* 1313-1318, p. 466.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1318-1323, p. 130. There is a further acknowledgment of £7 to William of Airmyn on 2 July, 1319 (*ibid.*, p. 145). Airmyn was bishop of Norwich 1325-1336.

vent could find friends to stand surety for its debts, but its liabilities were heavy, and even its friends were not ready to spare it. Thus, on 30 December, 1317, the king exercised his right of imposing a corrodier or annuity man upon the convent in the person of Adam Alman, who was to receive a corrody similar to that previously held by John le Keu, and on 28 February following the order was repeated, the corrody being now equivalent to the share of a single canon.¹

Meanwhile, the neighbouring country was disturbed by the continual inroads of the Scots. In the course of 1318 an inquiry was made by Archbishop Melton into the value of the benefices wasted by the invaders, the result of which was the *Nova Taxatio*, which superseded the Taxation of 1291 as the basis of assessment to clerical subsidies in the northern province. As a result of this, the possessions of Bolton, previously taxed at £56 18s. 4d., were reassessed at £5, a sufficient indication of the damage done to its property. Of the appropriated rectories, Long Preston was reduced from £33 6s. 8d. to £13 6s. 8d., Skipton from £30 to the same amount, Kildwick from £26 13s. 4d. to £12, and Carlton from £8 to £5.² The actual chronology of the invasions as they affected Bolton is not very certain. From the abstract of the *Computus* book printed by Whitaker, it appears that, in 1318, the convent found it necessary to disperse for the time being: the prior fled into Blackburnshire, while some of the canons, either then or in 1319, found shelter at Skipton Castle.³ The Scots destroyed the granges of Embsay, Carlton, Halton, and Stede, and carried the cattle away from Halton, where the lands remained untilled during 1319.⁴ On 1 March, 1318-19, the king took the prior and the other executors of the will of dame Margaret Nevill into his protection for two years,⁵ and on 28 October, 1319,

¹ *Ibid.* 1313-1318, pp. 564, 599.

² Melton's certificate to the Exchequer, as regards the churches of the West Riding, bears date 21 January, 1318-19 (Reg. Melton, fo. 128). An earlier one was returned 26 July, 1318 (*ibid.*, fo. 159). See *Tax. Eccl.*, (Rec. Comm.), pp. 321, 324.

³ This appears from the account for 1317-18. The prior had attended the enthronement of Archbishop Melton at York, which took place on 26 February, 1317-18. The entry of 44s. 8d. for his expenses on this occasion is followed by one of 20s. 1½d., being his expenses "in Blackburnshire at the coming of the Scots." In the same year Baldwin Tyays, constable of Skipton Castle, had 13s. 6d. "for saving goods from the Scots." As the accounts were rendered at Michaelmas or Martinmas, that dated by Whitaker 1317 actually refers for the most part to the following year, and so in all other cases. The entries, "Wine sold to the men of Skipton at the coming of the Scots, 26s. 8d.," and "Expenses of canons staying at Skipton Castle at the coming of the Scots, and elsewhere, 5s. 2d.," belong to the 1318-19 account (Whitaker, *Craven*, p. 396, etc.).

⁴ Halton was ravaged by the Scots in 1318, when the servants of the priory left the place. The granges of Halton, Carlton, and Stede were apparently rebuilt in 1319, but it is noted that all the oxen at Halton had been driven away by the Scots. Fivepence was paid to the bailiff at Settle for the redemption of a stirk after the Scots had departed (*ibid.*, pp. 397, 398).

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1317-1321, p. 313. She died about the end of 1318. The prior and convent received as her mortuary a destrier, valued at £13 6s. 8d., and a palfrey, at £5 6s. 8d. Her saddle was valued at £5. They also received

when the king issued simple letters of protection for a year to the prior and convent, in consideration of its poverty, caused by the Scottish raids, and its debts, he appointed Robert of Bentley and Henry Russel to be keepers of the goods of the priory.¹

The reason of this was that it was necessary to send away the canons for the present. The insecurity of the neighbourhood during this period is illustrated by a letter of Archbishop Melton, bearing date 14 April, 1319, in which he asks the prior and convent to receive back one of their canons, John of Driffeld, who was under suspicion of having hastened the death of an unnamed murderer. Having thus incurred irregularity, John put his case before the papal penitentiary. It was found that the man had died in prison, and John was absolved, with a dispensation to proceed to priest's orders, and a recommendation to the prior and convent to restore him to his status in the house.² We may infer from this, and from a hint at the end of the letter that the prior had made some further complaint of Driffeld's conduct, and was urged to treat him with brotherly love, that, amid their adversity, the canons were not free from mutual suspicions and disagreements. On 26 October, 1320, a year after the appointment of keepers of the priory, the archbishop sent letters to a number of priors of Augustinian houses, asking them to receive as temporary inmates certain canons of Bolton.

We relate (he wrote), not without bitterness of heart, that the monastery of Bolton, hitherto of celebrated and wholesome renown, by reason of the hostile inroad of the Scots, rebels to this realm, who at divers times have plundered their beasts and cattle, and have destroyed their possessions with fire and flame, apart from the general calamity of the murrain of beasts which has for a long time past prevailed in this realm, is in these days so wasted, and is exposed to so great damage and loss, that their own resources are not sufficient for the maintenance of the college of canons who serve God there and for the support of the accustomed works of hospitality, without the necessity of a temporary dispersion of the same.

Eight canons were thus removed, William of Rotherham to Worksop, Thomas of Menyngham³ to St. Oswald's, Thomas of Coppelay to Thurgarton, Lawrence of Wath to Shelford, Robert of Rypon to Guisbrough, Simon or Richard of Otteley to Drax, John of Selby to Warter, and Stephen of Thirneholm to Kirkham.⁴ The prior may have remained, and it is possible that, as the convent at this time apparently possessed thirteen other members, five canons stayed with him. But it is likely that the priory remained deserted, save

£13 10s. 4d. from various provisions sold at her funeral, where 24 quarters of malt were consumed (Whitaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 397, 398).

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1317-1321, pp. 395, 397.

² Reg. Melton, fo. 132d. We may possibly connect this episode with an entry in the 1318-19 account: "Fee to the coroner for holding a view on a dead body, 4s." (Whitaker, *op. cit.*, p. 398).

³ *i.e.* Manningham.

⁴ Reg. Melton, fo. 141.

for its lay keepers, during the summer of 1320, and that its inmates did not begin to return till 1321.¹ Fresh letters of protection for two years had been issued on 20 October, 1320, and these were renewed for one year on 8 October, 1322.²

The house was still in this predicament when Melton, writing from Bishop Burton in the East Riding on 10 September, 1321, proposed to hold a visitation on 16 October. At this he required the absent canons to attend, which would have involved considerable expense to the monastery in serving the summonses, bringing them to the visitation, and conveying them back to their scattered places of residence. He was anxious, however, that due economy should be exercised: his object was the health of their souls, and he deprecated the prospect of his coming being made a cause for costly entertainment, forbidding the prior to issue formal invitations to strangers and outsiders, from which no profit could accrue to the house.³ The maintenance of the absentees in other monasteries did not relieve the prior and convent of expense, as four or five marks a year had to be found for each. Even with this, their stay was something of a burden to the houses on which they were billeted, and on 14 April, 1322, Melton found it necessary to send Menynggham back to Bolton from St. Oswald's, which found itself at this time in a lamentable state of destitution, so pitiable that Melton described its "unbearable famine" as "sufficient to stab and pierce with its sharpness the bowels of ourself and of every worshipper of Christ."⁴ As few of the monasteries of the diocese could be said to be thriving at this date, the remainder were probably soon recalled.⁵ There

¹ No account was rendered for 1319-20. In that for 1320-1, however, occur the entries, "Expenses of the prior and others, carrying vestments, etc., at York, £14 6s. *od.*"; "Expenses of the prior and convent for two comings, at Bolton, £15 6s. *od.*"; "Expenses of the canons in going and returning from time to time from the places where they are staying, 47s. 10d."; "Expenses of the prior at Ryther, £6 0s. 7d."; "Expenses of five canons and of Juliana of Craven, staying at home, £20 12s. 6d." These obviously refer to 1321, when the Scots seem to have left the neighbourhood alone, and the prior and canons were bringing back goods which had been deposited for security at York and elsewhere. This year the house belonging to the convent at Embsay was rebuilt and apparently enlarged, the hall being repaired and a new garde-robe made at a total cost of £5 10s. *od.* (Whitaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 398, 399). Whitaker's habit of construing the accounts a year wrong renders his note on p. 395 valueless.

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1317-1321, p. 506; 1321-1324, p. 207.

³ Reg. Melton, fo. 149d. In spite of this economy, the visitation cost the convent £23 19s. 5d., and 45s. were incurred by the prior at the same time, apparently for accompanying the archbishop to Kildwick and Embsay. Further expenses were incurred in bringing the canons back, and in procuring copies of the letters for their dispersion (*i.e.* the letters of 26 October, 1320) from the archbishop's registrar (Whitaker, *op. cit.*, p. 399).

⁴ Reg. Melton, fo. 150.

⁵ The account for 1321-2 includes an item of £10 paid to St. Oswald's, Worksop, and Shelford for the maintenance of three canons (*i.e.* at five marks each), and one of £2 16s. 8d. to Kirkham for that of one (Whitaker, *op. cit.*, p. 399).

was, however, another incursion of the Scots in 1322, when the canons again sought the shelter of Skipton Castle for a time.¹

Probably one result of Melton's visitation in the autumn of 1321 was an enquiry into the state of the appropriated churches of Kildwick and Long Preston. On 10 February, 1321-2, the prior, John of Laund, and Richard of Otteley, appeared at York on behalf of the convent, and agreed to an augmentation of the vicarage of Long Preston. This did not amount to very much, as it reaffirmed the principle of the division of the repair of the chancel and other extraordinary burthens between the convent and the vicar, but confined the vicar's share to a proportion equivalent to a third part of the assessment of the church before the ordination of the vicarage.² The ordination of the vicarage of Kildwick, on 18 March, 1321-2, took the form of an *inspeximus* and confirmation of a deed of Prior Lund, executed in February, 1276-7, and sealed by Archbishop Giffard and Roger of Skipton, the vicar, which granted certain portions of the fruits to the vicar, reserving to the convent the tithe of corn and certain other tithes, and binding the convent to the repair of the chancel. The portions of the vicar are defined in general terms as all tithes, oblations, obventions, and revenues, with the above important exceptions.³

Notice of a second visitation, to take place on 6 July, 1325, was given by Melton on 14 May, when he was at Granby, in Nottinghamshire.⁴ No record of this remains, but the visitation of the deanery of Craven, at which it was discovered that the fruits of the vicarage of Skipton were too slender for the vicar's means of livelihood and his competent exercise of hospitality, probably took place at this time. The ordination of the vicarage, however, was not made till more than a year later, on 16 September, 1326. It reserved to the vicar the dwelling-house hitherto used as a vicarage, the mortuaries of Skipton, Thorlby, Stirton, the grange of Holme, Skibden, Draughton, Berwick, Beamsley, Rysphill, Langbergh, Holme, and Notelshagh, tithes of white, bullocks, foals, porkers, and kids in the same places and in Halton, Deerstones, Hazelwood, Rukcroft, and Storiths, all oblations, Lenten tithes, tithes of flax, orchards, curtilages, ducks, chickens, eggs, with purifications and marriage fees in all these places and in Embsay and Eastby, tithes of lambs in Skipton, Thorlby, Stirton, the grange of Holme, Skibden, Draughton, Berwick, Embsay, Eastby, and Halton, the mill tithes of Beamsley and Draughton, and tithe of hay in Skipton, Skibden, and Draughton, and the marriage fees of the Forest and the Sacristy.⁵ To the prior and

¹ *Ibid.* "Expenses of the canons staying at Skipton Castle, and of men carrying goods to the said castle and guarding them there and keeping watch, with a fee paid to the gate-keeper at the coming of the Scots, 7s. 1d." Also, "43 sheep stolen and delivered from the hands of the bailiffs at Coverham, 10s. 1d."

² Reg. Melton, ff. 154 and 154d.

³ *Ibid.*, fo. 152d.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 166.

⁵ The Forest was the district between the Wharfe and the Aire included in

convent, on the other hand, were reserved the mortuaries of the lords of Skipton Castle and others not already specified, with those of all the tenants of the priory on the hither side of the brook called Kexbeck, all the tithe of the park of Skipton and of the Forest, the oblations, purifications, marriage fees, tithes, and mortuaries of Sir William Mauleverer, his heirs and children and their households, all the oblations in the churches of Bolton and Embsay, all tithes, purifications, and oblations of the tenants of the Sacristy, and all manner of tithes from the manors, granges, cowsheds, and sheepfolds belonging to the prior and convent. The vicar was to support the ordinary burthens, the extraordinary being shared *pro rata* according to the taxation of the portions. The prior and convent, however, undertook to repair the chancel.¹

Throughout this period of trouble and poverty John of Laund remained prior. So far as we can tell he had ruled the priory ever since the resignation of John of Lund in 1286. We know that he was prior as late as 1327, and Dugdale gives the date of his retirement from office as 1330, but without confirmatory evidence from the archiepiscopal registers.² The years between 1326 and 1330 have left few documentary traces. Melton gave notice of a third visitation in the summer of 1329.³ At the beginning of the reign of Edward III, on 9 February, 1326-7, the prior and convent obtained an exemplification of the grant of free warren in Appletreewick which had been made by Edward II on 9 September, 1310, and the original of which had been lost during the Scottish invasions.⁴ On 12 July, 1327, the prior and convent complained of the exactions levied by the constable of Knaresborough, in Wharfedale, in spite of the fact that the district had been disafforested.⁵ A new corrodier was imposed upon the house by the king's order, in place of John le Charetter, who had been recommended by Edward I, on 14 August, 1329, and to this man, whether as his successor or as a companion, was added, about November, 1332, Thomas Foune, in consideration of his service to the king and his father.⁶

We should be very glad to know what architectural work Archbishop Melton found in progress when he came to Bolton in 1329. It is a very surprising feature of this period, when the resources of the priory were at such a low ebb, that, almost immediately after the dispersion of 1320, or at any rate within a very few years, the magnificent rebuilding and extension of the eastern arm of the church was taken in hand. It would be tempting to imagine that this work

the honour of Skipton. The "Sacristy" evidently, as Whitaker (*op. cit.*, p. 352*n*) thought, was the territory within the parish appropriated to the office of sacrist in the priory.

¹ Reg. Melton, fo. 167.

² *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 199; *Monasticon*, vi, 202.

³ Reg. Melton, fo. 177.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1327-1330, p. 11.

⁵ *Cal. Close Rolls* 1327-1330, p. 146.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 568; 1330-1333, p. 612.

was a thank-offering for improved circumstances. There can be little doubt, however, that in an undertaking of this magnitude the convent received substantial aid from its wealthy friends and patrons, particularly from the Cliffords, who had come into possession of the honour of Skipton in 1310¹; and we need not therefore regard it as an ambitious effort on the part of a body of canons who, however much their funds may have shown signs of betterment, can hardly have had the money to pay for it. There was a large amount of building done here in the second quarter of the fourteenth century and later, and we can hardly doubt that the convent owed this to generous help from outside rather than to a miraculous recovery from almost complete destitution.

One important document has survived from the time of John of Laund, the so-called Compotus of Bolton, including a series of accounts extending from 1290 to 1325. An extract from this was printed by Burton in the *Monasticon Eboracense*, and Whitaker, with a not very amiable criticism of Burton's inaccuracies and failure to supply notes to his text, printed the account for the year 1298-9 at length, and selected interesting items from the rest of the volume, to which we already have referred at intervals. In spite of Whitaker's censorious attitude to Burton, his own text and notes are not free from *naïvetés*. The interest of the 1298-9 account is so great from the point of view of monastic economy that a summary translation of it is added as an appendix to this chapter, and items from the remaining extracts which have a bearing upon the history of the priory have been quoted in the text and notes, with a careful regard to the chronology, which Whitaker confused by his habit of entering accounts which cover the last quarter of one year and three quarters of the next, under the date of the year in which they begin. There are still, however, a few points which call for comment. Enough has possibly been said to show the expense caused to the house by cultivating the friendship and support of important people. In 1299-1300 £13 4s. 3½d. was expended in "divers gifts and presents made to magnates for the advantage of the house, with alms,"² a somewhat costly outlay for an uncertain return. At the enthronement of Archbishop Corbridge, in 1301, the prior made him a present of £6 13s. 4d.³ In 1310-11 there is a gift of 19s. 1d. to the earl of

¹ The account of 1310-11 contains the entry "For partridges, a heron, and other fowls against [the visit of] Lady Clifford at various times, 10s. 8d." This was Maud de Clare, wife of Robert, first Lord Clifford. Various gifts and jewels were given to the same lady and her household in 1311-12 (£5 18s. 8d.), and in 1312-13 (£15 10s. 0d.). A candle given her at her churaching in 1312-13 cost 15s. 3d. In 1313-14 ten lampreys from Nantes, bought against her coming, cost 9s. 6d.; and in 1314-15 there is a payment of 20s. to the executors of Lord Clifford for 200 sheaves of corn (Whitaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-4). Lord Clifford had been slain at Bannockburn in 1314. In the same year masons were paid 11s. 10d. for making tombs in the church; but this cannot refer to Lord Clifford, who was buried at Shap, in Westmorland.

² *Ibid.*, p. 385. The alms included are those given by the prior during the year.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 386.

Cornwall, viz. Piers Gavaston, who, during his tenure of the honour of Skipton, had been well disposed to the monastery, as we have seen; and in the same account is the item of nineteen quarters of fodder for his destriers.¹ In 1313-14 16s. 2d. was paid for two cygnets sent to the earl of Lancaster, and 24s. 1d. for four cygnets sent the next year.² In 1315-16 the sisters of the bishop of Ely received a present of 13s. 4d.³ In 1324-5, when Edward II was in the neighbourhood, 31s. 2d. was given in presents to him and his men, and his carter, Thomas, while at Skipton Castle, received 5s. 10d.⁴

With regard to building operations there are a few entries of considerable interest. In 1294-5 there is a payment of 46s. 6½d. to the fabric, i.e. the fabric fund of the church, and in 1296-7 £5 16s. 3d. was expended upon glazing windows and purchase of timber.⁵ From architectural evidence it is clear that something was being done at this time towards the remodelling of the transept, but, whatever it was, it did not go very far. Before the great works of the fourteenth century were taken in hand the prior and convent were distracted from the church, in the first place by other building work which demanded their attention, and secondly by the Scottish invasions. In 1304-5 there is a payment of 65s. 6d. on account for "the making of the chancel of Skipton," a piece of work which was for some years in progress.⁶ A gift of 6s. 8d. was received in 1306-7 "for the glass window of the chancel of Skipton" from Everard Fauvel, which was probably a general contribution towards glazing, and in the same year 64s. 8d. was paid towards the "making of the choir of Skipton."⁷ If the prior and convent were aided in fulfilling their duty towards the fabric of an appropriated church, they were at any rate sensible of their legal responsibility. This work was probably finished in 1307-8, when 3s. 4d. was spent "in lattices for the choir of Skipton,"⁸ so that, when the vicarage of Skipton was ordained in 1325, and the prior and convent undertook the repair of the chancel, the burden was not immediately serious, unless the church had suffered damage from Scottish marauders. But in 1306-7 there occurs the important entry of a part payment for the prior's *camera* of 34s. 6d.,⁹ which is followed in 1307-8 by similar payments of £32 12s. 5d. to carpenters and masons, and of a further sum of £9 12s. 6d., and an entry of unspecified sums paid to work-

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 391, 392.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 393, 394.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 395. Presumably the sisters of John of Hotham, who was bishop-elect of Ely by Michaelmas, 1316, when this account probably closes, and was consecrated on 3 October.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 384.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 389. Whitaker read the donor's name wrongly, here and elsewhere, as Fannel.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

men at the prior's *camera* and chapel.¹ In 1311-12 there are some large payments for work upon the prior's chapel, £7 6s. 6d. to workmen, 43s. 6d. for lead, and 20s. for glass.² In 1312-13 the workmen received 8s. 8d., 13s. 4d. was paid for colours to paint it, and William the painter had 5s. for his work.³ The next year a payment to W. of Calverley appears to refer to the altar and sconces for tapers, and 15s. were spent at York for a suit of vestments for the chapel.⁴ As Whitaker notes, the word *camera* applies to a private house as a whole as well as to a single room,⁵ and we may have indications here of the building of a new lodging for the prior. On the other hand, the *camera* may equally refer to his private chamber as distinct from the *aula* or hall where he entertained guests, and the special allusions to the chapel also show that it was the private part of his lodging which was undergoing some form of reconstruction. As in 1306-7 "bankers," *i.e.* coverings for benches, and cushions were being bought for the *camera*,⁶ the work looks more like decoration and refurnishing than rebuilding; but it is clear that in 1307-8 this operation had developed into something larger. By the end of this year the *camera* was ready for painting: a quarter of vermilion paint, five pounds of white lead and two pounds of red lead were bought at Boston fair,⁷ and in 1310-11 William the painter was still engaged upon his work, receiving 8s. 7d.,⁸ while, as we have seen, he was painting in the chapel two years later. The completion of this work was probably reached in 1313-14, when 35 lbs. of wax were bought for the *camera*, with table-cloths and "sauvenapys," *i.e.* cloths for laying above the ordinary table-cloths.⁹

From these entries we must conclude either that between 1307 and 1313 an entirely new lodging was built for the prior, to which the very large sums spent in 1307-8 give some probability, or that the upper storey of the western range of buildings, which was the normal position for his lodging, was rebuilt, so far as his private apartments were concerned. The consideration of this question belongs more properly to the architectural part of this volume. We may note, however, that there is not much indication of work in the monastic buildings which suits this particular period. The account for 1321-2 supplies a slight clue with an entry of 6s. 8d. spent "in making anew a wall next the kitchen, and the conduit between the kitchen and the prior's garderobe."¹⁰ This certainly points to the direction of the drain of which there are traces at the south end of the fourteenth-century extension of the dormer range, near the garderobe in the south-east corner, and we may tentatively conjecture that this

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 390, 391.

² *Ibid.*, p. 392.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 390n.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 391.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 391.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 393. In 1311-12 two andirons were bought for the *camera* (p. 392), which was thus probably ready for occupation before the completion of the chapel.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 399.

extension formed the new *camera* of the prior, while the upper portion of the western range was now reserved for guests. In this case the repair and enlargement of the domestic buildings preceded the work done in the church, of which, apart from the early details already mentioned, the accounts contain no trace.

We may note that the chancel of Kildwick church was undergoing repair in 1311-12, when 27s. 5d. was expended in carving the capitals of the window-shafts, and in making the stone water-tabling.¹ In 1305-6 £21 12s. 9d. was spent in the construction of Kildwick bridge,² and there is a note in 1314-15 of £6 13s. 4d. given by Eve of Laund towards the rebuilding of Bolton bridge.³ Eve, whom Whitaker conjectured to be the prior's mother, was also a contributor to the making of Kildwick bridge and the bridge of Brigwath at Cononley.⁴ Rebuilding of granges after the Scottish raids has been noted, including the making of a new house at Embsay. The church of Embsay was repaired in 1315-16,⁵ and in 1320-1 a stone wall, 18½ roods in length, was made round the churchyard.⁶

Many of the entries selected by Whitaker from the Compotus book deal with matters of household economy which are amply illustrated by the full account for 1298-9. There are certain little details, however, which call for remark in passing. It is interesting to observe that in 1305-6 a copy of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard was bought for 30s.,⁷ and 6s. were given in 1310-11 for a book called *Veritates Theologiae*.⁸ Somebody also was paid 2s. for writing a chronicle at York in 1313-14,⁹ and a copy of the constitutions of the order was made for the convent in 1306-7.¹⁰ The canons of Bolton, however, were not great students, and, though in 1298-9 Henry of Laund, possibly the prior's brother, went to Oxford, they seem on later occasions to have compounded by fines at the general chapter for their failure to send scholars to the university. Domestic economy and hospitality took up most of their income, and they certainly managed to keep on good terms with their neighbours. The local clergy were not forgotten in their gifts, as, e.g. the rector of Broughton in 1311-12, and in the same year the rector of Gargrave had a present of a fireplace from the prior at a cost of 9s.¹¹ There are notes of payments in 1306-7 and the following year to wolf-slayers.¹² It is also worth recording that in 1307-8 the prior was ill, and a doctor was paid 40s. for attending him.¹³

We have no record of the name of Prior John of Laund's immediate successor, but he was probably Thomas of Coppeley, who had been sent to Thurgarton during the dispersion of 1319. He did fealty to the king for his lands held of the honour of Albemarle before

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

² *Ibid.*, p. 393.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 395.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 391.

² *Ibid.*, p. 388.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 393-4, n.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 399.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 391.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 389, 390.

4 May, 1331, when the escheator was ordered not to distrain him on account of his property in Holderness.¹ In June, 1332, the prior and convent were asked to contribute to the subsidy for the marriage of the king's sister, Eleanor, to the count of Gueldres.² They were slow in fulfilling their promise, as on 12 February following the king made a second demand, representing that he was in debt to foreign merchants on this account.³ Eventually he got 40s., promising that the gift should not be taken as a precedent.⁴ In the meantime, on 10 December, 1332, he issued letters of protection to them for two years, which were renewed for a similar period on 30 May, 1334.⁵ These may have been necessary owing to the expenses incurred in building during these years, which must have involved some borrowing. The same reason may have been responsible for the relaxation of fines after Melton's visitation in the summer of 1336.⁶ But from this period notices of the priory begin to be scanty, and the absence of any internal records for an epoch which, to the visitor of the site in our own day, is that upon which he desires most information, is singularly disappointing.

Prior Coppeley died in 1340, and was succeeded by Robert of Harton, whose election was confirmed on 17 October.⁷ The next ten years are almost a blank. There are two entries relating to Bolton in connection with the aid raised for the campaign of Crecy. Their assessment in 1346 upon ten carucates and three bovates in Holderness, formerly held by William Walkotes, *i.e.* the land upon which they had entered after the death of that life tenant, was 8s. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.⁸ They contributed 50s. to the expenses of the war, in addition to which the king demanded £10 more in the course of 1347.⁹ Two years later the great pestilence of 1349 was raging in the north. So far as we have trustworthy means of information, it fell comparatively lightly on Craven, as on most hilly districts, and of its effect upon Bolton we know nothing. The vicar of one of the appropriated churches, Kildwick, died in the summer.¹⁰

Up to this time and for a considerable period afterwards, the prior and convent served the cures of their appropriated benefices by secular vicars according to the canonical practice, with one exception. This was the vicarage of Skipton, to which Thomas of Manningham, whom we have met as a refugee at St. Oswald's during the events of 1319, had been instituted on 26 March, 1342, during

¹ *Cal. Close Rolls* 1330-1333, p. 229.

² *Ibid.*, p. 588.

³ *Ibid.* 1333-1337, p. 92.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1330-1334, p. 422.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 372, 544.

⁶ *Reg. Melton*, fo. 208.

⁷ *Reg. Sede Vac.*, fo. 87.

⁸ *Feudal Aids*, vi, 208.

⁹ *Rot. Parl.*, ii, 454.

¹⁰ His successor was instituted on 8 September (*Reg. Zouche*, fo. 36d).

the vacancy of the see of York after the death of Archbishop Melton.¹ On 10 November, 1350, Archbishop Zouche addressed a mandate to the prior of Bolton and master Adam of York, ordering them to inquire into certain complaints which had been made regarding the conduct of "brother Thomas of Menyngham, sometime a canon regular and professed in the monastery of Bolton, who acts as vicar of the parish church of Skipton." The accusations against him are not specified, but he was heavily defamed of various crimes and transgressions committed by him in his cure and administration of the vicarage, which also affected the honesty of his order.² Whatever the result of this was, he did not resign the vicarage until 1354, when he exchanged the vicarage for that of Harewood with another canon, Lawrence of Wath, who had also been a partaker in the dispersion. Thirty-five years had passed since 1319, and we are left with the impression that canons who were getting past work were being turned out to graze in parochial benefices.³

In 1354 the prior and convent had lately come into possession of the church of Harewood, which was served by canons from the date of appropriation in 1353. About 1350 they had acquired certain lands in Cold Coniston from Ralph de Nevill without a licence in mortmain. There is a release to Ralph by Richard of Brereton and Agnes, his wife, and Custance, daughter of Henry Profit of Appletreewick, of their right in this property, which had been inherited by the two ladies from their brother Adam; but this appears to be all we know of the transaction.⁴ On 10 October, 1351, we meet the first of a long series of documents which ended in the appropriation of the church of Harewood. This is a licence to John de Lisle of Rougemont to alienate the advowson of the church of Kirkby Overblow to the prior and convent, with licence to them to appropriate.⁵ For some reason or other which is not very clear, the donor changed his mind, and six days later a similar pair of licences were issued with regard to the church of Harewood and the acre of land which constituted its glebe, with the object of using its fruits to establish a chantry of chaplains in the priory church or elsewhere for the soul of John.⁶ As a matter of fact, the second church was a better piece of property than the first, being assessed to the new taxation at £16 as compared with the £10 at which Kirkby Overblow was valued.⁷

¹ See the list of vicars in Whitaker, *Craven*, p. 353.

² Reg. Zouche, fo. 52.

³ Reg. Thoresby, fo. 132d. Wath re-exchanged Skipton for Harewood with brother Thomas of Kidall, 25 April, 1369 (*ibid.*, fo. 151d). Kidall had been instituted to Harewood, 28 April, 1366, on the death of brother William Basset (*ibid.*, fo. 147).

⁴ *Cal. Ancient Deeds*, i, 324 (B 1149, 20 April, 1350).

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1350-1354, p. 149.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁷ *Tax. Eccl.*, p. 323. By the older taxation the church was assessed at £66 13s. 4d., after a portion of tithe had been deducted for the dean and chapter of York, while Kirkby Overblow was assessed at £26 13s. 4d. (*ibid.*, p. 299).

There was, however, some difficulty about immediate appropriation, and in the meantime, on 30 October, 1352, John de Lisle had licence to provide the canons with £40 yearly in land and rent out of the manor of Harewood for the same purpose, until he could procure the appropriation of the church.¹ This was vacated for a new licence on 29 November following, in which the amount is specified as 44 messuages, 1,095 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow, and £4 19s. 2½d. rent, extended by inquest at £40 yearly.²

On 29 December, 1352, an indenture, made at Bolton on 1 November, between John de Lisle and the prior and convent, was enrolled in Chancery. By this the prior and convent gave their solemn word as priests to find six chaplains, as soon as the appropriation should be completed, two of whom should be canons of Bolton or seculars in their place, as should be ordained by papal bull, while the others should be seculars.³ John promised to endeavour that one of the canons should be vicar of the church, with a reasonably modest portion: if this could not be arranged, the vicar was to be a secular. The chantry was to come into active being at the Martinmas or Whitsuntide, as the case might be, subsequent to entering upon possession. The prior and convent were to present the vicar. If a chaplaincy fell void, the appointment was to be made within three weeks by John, the prior in the meantime providing a canon to supply the vacancy in the priory church. After three weeks, if John had failed to present, the prior was to appoint a secular chaplain: if not, he was to send a canon to Harewood to celebrate there until he could find a secular, which he must do before the end of the first quarter of the following year, the canon at Harewood being in the meantime discharged of all other chantries which he might hold. The prior was always at liberty to remove any of the chaplains for reasonable cause. All this, however, was in the future. Pending appropriation and the ordinance decreed by bull, the prior and convent were to establish the chantry in the priory church, with seven canons to serve it; and, if the bull decreed merely the appropriation and the services of a vicar, without the six other chaplains, then the chantry was to begin at Bolton within a fortnight of the entry of the prior and convent into possession of the church. If the lawsuit which was pending concerning the advowson went against John, the prior and convent were discharged of the chantry. On the other hand, if the chantry were to cease for a month after its establishment, the prior and convent were bound to pay John an annuity of £100. All contingencies were carefully foreseen. In case of pestilence or war affecting the parish of Harewood with disaster, the prior might abandon the chantry for three quarters of a year. If he was enfeoffed of the land and rent, he was to release to John any arrears from it for a term of forty years. If John died within

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1350-1354, p. 352.

² *Ibid.*, p. 362.

³ This was strictly in accordance with the rule by which a religious could not live alone outside his monastery.

this term, the prior was to re-enter the lands and hold them until John's heirs should procure at their costs the appropriation. If the prior did not make the required release, he was to pay the annuity aforesaid; while, finally, when the appropriation took place, John might re-enter upon the lands. The deed concludes with the recitation of the names of the persons to be remembered in the chantry, Sir Robert de Lisle, the father of John, and Margaret his wife, John Peverel, and the brothers and sisters of John. Each of the chaplains was to say a special collect in his daily mass for the salvation of John, his wife and children, and after their deaths was to chant for the souls of them, of Thomas and Isabel, the father and mother of Robert of Harton, prior of Bolton, of James of Grancete, and of all Christian souls.¹

The grant of the glebe-land, an acre called Snaghyngbusk in Harewood, and of the advowson of the church, was delivered to the convent at Harewood on 6 November. The next day, at Bolton, the prior and convent, having granted to John a yearly rent from their lands at Rawdon, Wigton, Brandon, Kildwick, Halton, Emb-say, Eastby, Appletreewick, Malham, Penyesthorp, and Holmpton, obtained an assurance from John that, if they found the six chaplains at Harewood (*i.e.* in addition to the vicar) as agreed, or if John did not observe his part of the covenant, he would release them from the rent until they should be guilty of any breach of the agreement.² This last deed, with the grant to which it refers, was, of course, intended to secure the annuity which formed a condition of the indenture in case of default upon the part of the prior and convent.

The bull for which John de Lisle had applied was issued by Pope Innocent VI on 1 January, 1352-3, commissioning the archbishop to appropriate the church to the priory, assigning a portion for a vicar, and empowering the prior to appoint six chaplains for the purposes already specified.³ Meanwhile, on 30 November, John had made his formal grant of the land and rent in Harewood to the prior and convent, and on 6 December they demised the premises to him for forty years at £40 yearly, with the condition that they might enter and retain other premises, if the rent was in arrear, or might distrain for rent in these tenements. These grants were enrolled on 29 January.⁴ The bull, of course, took some time to reach England, and the appropriation and ordination of the vicarage did not take place until 14 March, 1353-4. Three days before this John de Lisle acknowledged a debt of 100 marks to the prior and convent, which amounts to 40 marks over and above a year's rent.⁵

The final step in this long and complicated transaction took some time in coming. On 6 October, 1354, the prior and convent had

¹ *Cal. Close Rolls* 1349-1354, pp. 520, 521.

² *Ibid.*, p. 521. The second of these deeds is printed in *Monasticon*, vi (i), 206.

³ *Cal. Papal Letters*, iii, 488.

⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls* 1349-1354, pp. 583, 584.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1354-1360, p. 60.

licence to retain in frankalmoin the glebe and advowson and to hold the church in appropriation, apparently in consequence of the settlement of the lawsuit which had delayed matters. On the same day John de Lisle had licence to exchange ten acres of land and two of meadow, held by the prior and convent in Harewood, for a similar amount of both, and to alienate 45 acres of land to them in aid of the maintenance of the chantry.¹ John, however, died shortly afterwards, and the licence was renewed to his son, Robert, on 26 October, 1357, with the difference that 40s. rent was substituted for the 45 acres.²

Unfortunately, the chantry thus founded has no history, nor was it ever incorporated as a college of priests. The vicarage was regularly served by a canon of Bolton, and the chantry was duly established with six secular priests in Harewood church. It is mentioned in the chantry certificates of 1548 as founded by Robert Lyle, by deed of 2 June, 1366,³ which presumably marks its ultimate beginning, and the six names were duly returned in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535,⁴ so that the founder's precautions secured its quiet existence. We have seen that the prior and convent had had a long association with Harewood, owing to the early grant of the mill. During the reign of Edward II Prior John of Laund had appropriated certain property in Harewood, including a water-mill, in mortmain without a licence, and so incurred forfeit. This property, remaining in the king's hands, was granted, on 19 May, 1367, to Richard Stury.⁵ The grant, however, did not take effect, as Stury failed to appear in Chancery later to show cause why it should not be taken again into the king's hand; and on 12 February, 1368-9, custody of it was given to the prior as long as it remained in the king's possession, with the direction that he should answer for the issues at the Exchequer, if it was adjudged to belong to the king.⁶ The circumstances of this business are not very clear, and it looks rather as though the grant to Stury was introduced as a means of conveying the property back to the prior.

On 2 February, 1363-4, a chantry was founded in the priory church by indenture between the prior and convent and Thomas of Bradeley and John of Otterburn, by which the former parties undertook to find a secular chaplain, or, failing one, a canon, to celebrate for the souls of Thomas of Otterburn and Maud, his wife, John of Otterburn and Elisot, his wife, and John of Bradeley and Mariote, his wife, the two last couples being fathers and mothers respectively of the said Thomas and Maud and John of Otterburn, and of Thomas of Bradeley and Agnes, his wife. In the event of anything, such as the illness of the chaplain, which might lead to

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1354-1358, pp. 109, 110.

² *Ibid.*, p. 624.

³ *Yorkshire Chantry Surveys* (Surtees Soc.), ii, 222.

⁴ *Val. Eccl.* (Record Comm.), v, 30.

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1364-1367, p. 403.

⁶ *Cal. Fine Rolls*, viii, 1.

the discontinuance of the chantry for a week, the prior and convent were to find another chaplain, or at any rate to insert a special collect for the objects of the chantry at high mass for a month, after which the chantry was to be supplied. Yearly two of the canons were to be present at the obit of Thomas of Otterburn in the church of Kirkby Malham, while the chaplain was to sing the office of the dead on the eve and day of the anniversary. Each member of the convent, present and future, was to be bound by oath to maintain the chantry and obit, under penalty of a fine of ten marks, to be paid to the archbishop every year so long as the conditions remained in abeyance. Pestilence or war alone could excuse such lapse, and in such a case the chantry must be renewed within two years under the same penalty. This agreement was confirmed by Archbishop Thoresby on 10 March, 1367-8.¹

In 1369, one of the great years of pestilence, Prior Harton died, and was succeeded by the subprior, Robert of Otteley, confirmed by Thoresby at Bishopthorpe on 2 October, 1369.² From this time there is a long gap of twenty-eight years until 26 May, 1397, when Robert Grene, prior of Bolton, had a papal indult for a portable altar.³ On 22 July, 1398, he had a further indult to choose his own confessor.⁴ In close connexion with this is an indult of 18 July, 1398, empowering the prior and convent to serve the vicarages of Skipton with its chapel of Carlton, Harewood, Preston, and Kildwick, by canons or seculars, whom they might appoint and remove at their pleasure.⁵ If this had been carried into effect, it would have left the churches entirely at the mercy of the proprietors, depriving them of the safeguard afforded by the formalities of the presentation and institution of their incumbents, and reducing them to the level of mere chaplaincies. Again, on 28 July, letters were issued by the pope to the abbots of Fountains and Kirkstall and the archdeacon of the East Riding, appointing them conservators of the priory for a period of ten years.⁶ The reason of this is not obvious, but the lay patron of the priory, John, seventh Lord Clifford, was at this time a minor, and the house may have been exposed to oppression, particularly at a time of political disturbance and uncertainty. Further, on 13 April, 1398, when the see of York was vacant, the dean and chapter of York sent a visitor to Bolton in the person of Master Richard Skypse, rector of Slaidburn,⁷ who pronounced Prior Grene guilty of perjury, and made certain admonitions and injunctions to him in terms said to be most offensive and injurious to him and his priory. These mandates were revoked by the new archbishop,

¹ Reg. Thoresby, fo. 146d.

² *Ibid.*, ff. 155 and 155d.

³ *Cal. Papal Letters*, v, 59.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁷ Reg. *Sede Vac.*, fo. 245d. Apparently this commission was preceded by an inquiry to which the prior and convent had been summoned on 27 February, 1397-8 (*ibid.*, fo. 237d.).

Richard Scrope, who, on 17 August in the same year, absolved the prior from the stigma of perjury.¹ It is possible that the dean and chapter had got wind of the prior's petition to the pope in the matter of the vicarages, which was much to the damage of the right of the diocesan and themselves in the vacancy of benefices to sequester the fruits. If Scrope disowned their action, the vicarages at any rate remained in their former condition. An indult of 24 April, 1399, to John Thweng, canon of Bolton, to choose his own confessor, may give us the name of the envoy who went to Rome on behalf of the prior and convent.²

About this time the prior sued his receiver, John Smyth of Baildon, for failing to render an account. Smyth did not answer the summons, which was issued in the time of Richard II, but obtained a pardon from Henry IV on 26 July, 1401.³ Another pardon occurs on 6 March, 1402-3, this time for a more serious offence. On Sunday, 11 September, 1401, John, son of Sir William of Rylstone, lay in ambush with others at a place called Katerallydeyate, between Salley Abbey and Gisburn, to murder brother Richard of Wintringham, vicar of Skipton. John shot at him with a catapult or crossbow and wounded him in the back with a barbed arrow, so that he died the following Tuesday, for which John was indicted in the king's bench.⁴ Here, again, the reason of the crime and its extenuating circumstances are left to the imagination. This document supplies the cause of a vacancy which is left unexplained in the record of the institution of brother Thomas Ferroure to the vacant vicarage on 30 January, 1402-3,⁵ and gives the name of a vicar whose institution is wanting.

There is a curious entry in the papal registers, on 31 May, 1411, when the pope appointed brother Lawrence of Gargrave to act as proctor of the priory for the collection of the fruits of the church of Harewood, superseding any other canon whom the prior might appoint as his deputy *ad hoc*.⁶ We can assume only that a complaint had been laid against the prior at Rome, and it is difficult to see why, in a matter of this kind, the less inexpensive course of obtaining an injunction from the archbishop was not followed. By this time Grene had probably ceased to be prior.⁷ The name of John Farnehill appears in 1413, but he resigned before 2 March, 1414-5, when he was instituted to the vicarage of Skipton.⁸ He may have continued, however, to hold this for a short time with the office of prior, for it was not until 30 March, 1416, that the election of Robert Catton was

¹ Reg. Scrope, ff. 16 and 16d.

² *Cal. Papal Letters*, v, 217.

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1399-1401, p. 497.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1401-1405, p. 215.

⁵ Reg. Scrope, fo. 36.

⁶ *Cal. Papal Letters*, vi, 272.

⁷ He had certainly retired before 1416-17, when he appears to have been living at Embsay: see Whitaker, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

⁸ Reg. Bowet, i, fo. 115d.

confirmed by the archbishop's vicar-general, Thomas Greenwood, with a flattering testimonial to his character, prudence, learning, and general stock of virtues.¹ Unhappily, we are left without further testimony to his exhibition of these endowments. To his time belongs the return of property subject to knight service made in 1428, viz. five carucates in Halton and Eastby, part of six in Long Preston, and four in Wigton.² In the assessment of churches to the subsidy which follows, the church of Kildwick is valued at 18 marks, with an assessment of 24s., the pension to the prior and convent of Huntingdon being returned at 8 marks.³ Prior Catton died in 1430, when John Farnehill was re-elected and returned from Skipton.⁴ His second tenure of office lasted only for a few years. In 1439 one Lawrence, possibly Lawrence of Gargrave, was prior,⁵ and there follows another gap until in 1448-9 we meet with the name of Thomas Boston.⁶

On 9 July, 1441, Archbishop Kempe, writing from Chelsea during one of those residences in London which greatly exceeded the time which he spent in his diocese, gave leave to John Kirkby, a canon of Bolton, to retire from the monastery for a year or two. Kirkby was an old man, stricken in years and suffering from a variety of complaints, and had represented that his only hope of return to health was an opportunity "of breathing freely for some suitable and meet period on his native soil and in the air which he first breathed in his cradle." He therefore proposed to pass his convalescence in the monastery of Coverham, and was allowed to go on the understanding that he was to accept a salary, if one came his way, for celebrating chantry masses, so as not to be burdensome to either monastery.⁷

A licence was granted, for a fine of 25 marks, on 12 June, 1442, to John of Thwaytes to alienate the advowson of Broughton-in-Craven, valued at 18 marks yearly, to the prior and convent.⁸ The decree of appropriation was issued on 7 October and was inspected and confirmed by the dean and chapter of York on 7 December, 1443. The petition of the prior and convent, quoted in the preamble, is summarised as follows:

¹ *Ibid.*, i, ff. 29, 30. "Viro utique provido et discreto, presbitero et in dicto prioratu expresse professo, litterarum scientia, morum et vite conversatione predito et commendato, libero et de legitimo matrimonio procreato, in etate legitima constituto, in spiritualibus et temporalibus circumspecto, et aliis virtutum donis multipliciter insignito."

² *Feudal Aids*, vi, 274, 275, 283.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

⁴ Reg. Kempe, fo. 356.

⁵ Baildon, *Monastic Notes* (Y.A.S. Record Series), i, 12

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Reg. Kempe, fo. 21d.

⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1441-1446, p. 104. The patronage of the rectory belonged to the prior and convent, and must have been conceded to Thwaytes by a formal conveyance in order to enable him to procure the licence on his own behalf. Whitaker (*op. cit.*, p. 92) suggests that he was acting for Lord Clifford, the patron of the priory, then a minor.

Whereas your priory is notoriously situated and set in woodland country and in barren and untilled soil, wherefrom in these days the fruits that arise are few, rare, and scanty, and far less than usual, so that, over and above the quantity of corn that grows on the said site or land, you are obliged every year to buy corn for the more part of your sustenance and that of your household and guests; and whereas you are every day burthened in manifold ways by the coming and concourse of the guests who flock to your said priory, for whom you must needs make provision in meat and drink; and also by reason of the daily imposts and exactions that are laid upon ecclesiastical persons, you are reduced to such a state of want that, unless you are furnished with a remedy whereby you may be more abundantly maintained, you will have to cease and abstain from receiving guests, from bounty in alms, and from other works of piety.

The difficulties are much the same as those which called for the appropriation of Long Preston a century and a half before. The ordination of the vicarage provides that the vicar should be a canon. He was to have the old rectory house or some other fitting house to be built at the expense of the convent, and a salary of ten marks sterling, forty days' arrears of which were to involve sequestration. The prior and convent were charged with all burthens, and with the yearly payment of 3s. 4*d.* to the poor of the parish. For the loss of the casual profits of the rectory in a vacancy the archbishop required a yearly indemnity of 4s. and the dean and chapter 2s.¹

To about the same time belongs an indulgence of a hundred days, granted by Archbishop Kempe on 2 September, 1443, for the chapel of St. Cuthbert at Emsay.² As years went by the old need of money continued to oppress the priory. The duty of hospitality was rendered difficult by the constant load of debt and by heavy taxation: the priory lands produced little, and the value of money was reduced, so that charges which at one time had seemed light had now become almost intolerable. In 1455 Prior Boston and the convent petitioned Archbishop William Bothe to re-endow the vicarages of Kildwick and Long Preston, representing among other things that much of the land which, when the vicarages were first ordained, was arable, was now under grass. The division of endowments remained much as in 1321-2, when Melton had taken the vicarages in hand; but in each case the vicar was charged with an annual pension of 26s. 8*d.* to the prior and convent, to begin at Martinmas following the decrees, the date of which is 26 May. Arrears of twenty days after a fortnight involved sequestration, which the official of the court of York had power to compel.³ The natural result of the diminution of the vicar's stipend involved in the pension was that in both churches, as at Broughton and Skipton, canons were instituted to the vicarages. The house thus profited

¹ Reg. Kempe, fo. 454.

² *Ibid.*, fo. 86. See note 1 on p. 53 above.

³ Reg. W. Bothe, ff. 226-228.

in two ways, for each vicarage relieved the common fund of the maintenance of a canon. Skipton and Harewood had been long served in this way; brother Thomas Sallay had been instituted to Long Preston a few months before the decrees.¹ The rectors of Broughton and Kildwick waited some time before they resigned, for brother John Ledes was not instituted to Broughton until 1452, ten years after the appropriation,² and brother Thomas Colton was instituted to Kildwick in 1459.³ Carlton alone of the vicarages was served by seculars to the end.⁴

Prior Boston resigned in 1456, and in 1460 retired to the vicarage of Skipton, where he ended his life in 1477-8.⁵ His successor was William Man, who, on 9 February, 1450-1, had received a papal dispensation, presumably on account of illegitimacy, to minister in holy orders, which he had already received, and to be promoted to any dignity, including the office of prior of a convent.⁶ He resigned in 1471, when an ordinance was made for his support by the prior and convent, and received the assent of Archbishop George Neville. The terms of this document run upon conventional lines to which parallels can be found in the histories of many other monasteries. The retiring prior was to live in the monastery with a yearly stipend of £7 6s. 8d., a chamber or set of apartments, with garden and easements, being allotted to him. This was at the west end of the common hall of the priory, by which the frater may be signified, so that the *camera* in question, if this was the case, would have been on the first floor of the west range at its south end. He was allowed fuel and, for his diet, fourteen loaves of the bread called miches, *i.e.* the best white loaves, equal in weight to those which each canon received, fourteen gallons of the best beer, and meat, fish, and other eatables, equal to the allowance of two canons, to be delivered every week. The serving man who was told off to wait on him was also allowed fourteen loaves weekly, *viz.* seven of livery bread,⁷ half of which were to be of white and the other half of the middling kind of bread, and seven of the inferior kind, with two gallons of the best and two of the inferior beer, and meat, flesh, etc., equal to the allowance of the chief forester of the priory.⁸ The three varieties of loaf and the two kinds of beer, as well as the proportion of the allowances, are common to all such arrangements, and this document, like all others of the same kind, was founded upon general practice, though the number of loaves and gallons might vary in different instances.⁹

¹ Whitaker, *Craven*, p. 123.

² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 174, 175.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

⁶ *Cal. Papal Letters*, x, 470.

⁷ *i.e.* bread given as livery (*liberata*) to the servants and pensioners of the priory.

⁸ Reg. G. Neville, fo. 139.

⁹ See the present writer's article on *A Corrody from Leicester Abbey* (Trans. Leices. Archaeol. Soc. xiv, 1925, pp. 113-134).

Christopher Lothhouse, who succeeded Man on 14 November, 1471,¹ retired before 1477, and in 1483 became vicar of Long Preston, dying in 1495.² His successor was Gilbert Wilson, whom we may identify with Gilbert Marsden, prior in 1482.³ On 1 December, 1477, Gilbert, the prior, and the convent of Bolton had licence to acquire land and rent in mortmain to the value of ten marks yearly, for which no fine was exacted.⁴ There is no indication that the old twenty marks' licence of 1311-12 had ever been satisfied and surrendered, and the parcels of property recorded to have been obtained in pursuance of it can never have been considered equivalent to its full value. Equally, there is nothing upon the Patent Rolls to show that the prior and convent took advantage of the new licence.

The visitation programmes of archbishops, where they have been preserved in registers, naturally include Bolton in their scheme. But what we know of their visitations, or those of their commissaries, after the thirteenth century, is derived, so far as regards Bolton, from the evidence of casual documents and not from injunctions. A set of injunctions, however, made in 1482 by Archbishop Rotherham's vicar-general, William Poteman, is an exception. Rotherham had visited Bolton soon after his translation from Lincoln to York in 1480, and found that the prior, Gilbert Marsden, "out of the lightness of his heart, as is supposed, rather than of evil intent," had loaded the house with debt and was guilty of "vain and immodest amours with suspect women." He was accordingly relegated for a time to the priory of Guisbrough, but was not deposed. In 1482 the archbishop, considering that the long absence of the shepherd was a source of danger and expense,

because the cunning serpent goes round about the Lord's sheepfold, anxiously seeking to devour, slaughter, and bring to ruin those whom he finds undefended by the shepherd's guidance, —a simile which appears to endow the serpent with the qualities of another beast—sent Poteman to the priory to reinstate Marsden and to deliver injunctions. These are stereotyped in phrase, and may be briefly summarised without quotation, but with the reminder that, however faithful they may be to the traditions of common form, this does not in the least impair their value as evidence that the breaches of rule which were common to many monasteries were committed at Bolton and called for correction.

1. Concord and brotherly love are to be observed, and incentives to quarrelling and contention wholly put away.

2. Divine service is to be celebrated at the due times.

¹ Reg. G. Neville, *ut sup.*

² Whitaker, *Craven*, p. 123.

³ The patronymic "Wilson" comes from *Reg. York Corpus Christi Guild* (Surtees Soc.), p. 101. Instances of such double names are, of course, common, e.g. brother Percival Otley, vicar of Harewood in 1517 and 1535 (Reg. Wolsey, fo. 26; *Val. Eccl.*, v, 33), was the same person as Percival Walker, vicar in 1546 and 1550, who died in 1566 (*Test. Ebor* [Surtees Soc.], vi, 235; Reg. Holgate, fo. 39d; Reg. Young, fo. 1d).

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1476-1485, p. 64.

3. The prior and the brethren are to dwell in mutual charity and love, without respect to persons.

4. The convent is to show due obedience to the prior.

5. Women have been allowed to come often to the convent. This is forbidden, and no private talk is to be held with women.

6. The house is to keep out of debt, into which it has fallen in the past.

7. Pensions, corrodies, etc., are not to be sold or granted without the archbishop's licence.¹

8. The common seal is to be kept under three keys, one of which is to be in charge of the prior.

9. Accounts are to be audited every year before Christmas by four canons of ripe discretion.

10. The prior is to have custody of money received, but the account is to be kept upon an indented roll, of which a faithful and discreet canon is to keep the duplicate half.

11. No useless servants are to be maintained, or servants suspected of incontinency.

12. In all arduous business² counsel is to be taken with the elder canons.

Marsden was required to take an oath not to dissipate the goods of the priory and to obey the injunctions: otherwise, he undertook to resign without claiming a pension.³ In 1483, however, he resigned, and the election of Christopher Wood, previously vicar of Long Preston, was confirmed on 10 July.⁴ Poteman appeared at Bolton again on 29 October, to make arrangements for the future of the two priors, Lofthouse and Marsden, who were in retirement, and for whom some provision had to be made. It was now that Lofthouse was put in charge of Long Preston,⁵ but without obligation of residence on condition that he kept a curate there, who was to live in the vicarage house and receive a salary of 53s. 4d. from glebe. Lofthouse was to have a pension of 21 marks yearly, and to enjoy the fruits of the vicarage of Harewood until the following Candlemas; while Marsden was to have a pension of 25 marks, with four marks as arrears from the time of his resignation. He was also to have the use of a silver bowl, which he was to recover from the convent by taking another bowl which he had pledged out of pawn, or by restoring its value. This was to close his claims upon the convent finally.⁶ As the yearly value of the vicarage of Long Preston was 16 marks net, after the pension of 26s. 8d. to the prior and convent had been deducted, it is obvious that Lofthouse cost the convent

¹ This injunction also forbids felling trees, selling timber, etc., in the usual form. The practices forbidden were methods of obtaining ready money without sure prospect of adequate return or eventual profit to the convent.

² *i.e.* business involving financial risk, as granting of leases, etc., under the convent seal.

³ Reg. Rotherham, i, ff. 20d-21d.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 37.

⁵ He had already been instituted on 3 October (Whitaker, *Craven*, p. 123).

⁶ Reg. Rotherham, i, fo. 45d.

little in addition. Marsden, in 1490, was instituted to the vicarage of Skipton, which he resigned in 1512-13.¹

In 1495 Wood resigned and was succeeded by Thomas Ottelay,² otherwise Jackson, who, with his convent, appears as in receipt of a royal pardon on 5 May, 1510.³ On his death Richard Moyne, or Mone, a native of Long Preston, was elected and confirmed on 4 April, 1513.⁴ The last prior of the house, he gave it one of its most noble adornments, in the shape of the unfinished tower, over the doorway of which his name is carved with a crescent moon for his surname. Two documents of his day are quoted, from unpublished sources, in the *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*. One is a grant of the office of porter to William Wall, made in 1528, defining his duties, which included seeing that all guests were lodged according to their degree, looking after their beds, and taking special charge of the poor who came for alms. He was not to keep a cow or horse within the demesnes without a special licence, and neither his wife nor any other woman was to dwell with him in the gatehouse, unless he were so infirm that he could not help himself. The other document is a lease of land in Embsay, made in 1537, which mentions a boundary stone on Byrk banke, "wherupon ther is wrought by a mason oon Anlett of that oon syde and a Toone and a bolte on that other syde."⁵

Unfortunately, the returns made for the ecclesiastical valuation of 1535 for Craven are missing, and we have merely the bare statement that the priory was assessed at £222 3s. 4d. a year.⁶ The visitors, who came next year, returned the annual income as £236.⁷ It is noticeable that, in the document known as the *Compendium Compertorum*, no accusation is brought against the canons of Bolton; and, small though the value is that can be attached to this compilation, the fact tells strongly on behalf of their good fame. During the pilgrimage of Grace in the following year, when Skipton Castle was attacked, the daughter-in-law of the first earl of Cumberland,⁸ Eleanor, daughter of the king's sister, Mary, by Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, with two of her sisters-in-law, her young son, and some gentlewomen, were sought by the rebels as hostages. Christopher Aske, in his statement made in May, 1537, said that they were at Bolton Abbey at the time, but, with the connivance of the vicar of Skipton (brother William Blackburn),⁹ a groom of the stable, and a boy, he brought them into the castle for safety, and won the reproach of a traitor to the commons for his pains.

¹ Whitaker, *Craven*, p. 353. His name is given there as Mayrden.

² Reg. Rotherham, i, fo. 88.

³ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i (i), 222 (no. 43. 82).

⁴ Reg. Bainbridge, ff. 40d, 41.

⁵ *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 198.

⁶ *Val. Eccl.*, v, 143.

⁷ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, x, 142 (no. 364).

⁸ Henry, eleventh Lord Clifford, was created earl of Cumberland in 1525.

⁹ Whitaker, *Craven*, p. 353n, prints a dispensation granted by Cranmer to Blackburn, in which it is mentioned that he was chaplain to the earl of Cumberland.

Meanwhile, the suppression of the monastery was imminent. The prior and convent, in August, 1538, sought to avert disaster by sending Cromwell a grant of a pension of £10.¹ But Cromwell had already ordered the commissioners to reserve the lead and the bells of the priory from the spoil,² and on 29 January, 1538-9, Prior Moone and his convent surrendered their house. The deed of surrender was signed by the prior, thirteen priests, and a subdeacon. Their names, with the pensions which they received, were as follows: Richard Mone, £40; Christopher Leedes, £6 13s. 4d.; Thomas Fountance, £5 6s. 8d.; Thomas Castell, £6 6s. 8d.; George Richmond, John Cromock, £5 6s. 8d. each; William Wilkes, £6; William Malhom, Thomas Pykeryng, Edward Hyll, John Bolton, Robert Knaresbrughe, John Halyfax, Lawrence Plompton, £5 6s. 8d. each; Robert Burdeux, £4.³ The names of none of the canons who were vicars of the five appropriated churches are on the list, so that, if we count them in, the number of the convent at this time was nineteen, which appears to be as many as it ever reached.

Prior Moone died in 1541, leaving his body to be buried at Catton, between York and Stamford Bridge. He bequeathed his chalice to the church of his native place, Long Preston, and his vestments and the cruets and the rest of the apparel of his altar to "serve them that comes to hear service at Bolton," with ten marks for the repair of the church at Bolton.⁴ If the canons had gone, and if their part of the church was soon dismantled, the nave still remained for the parishioners. We have hitherto said nothing of the parochial character of the priory church, and little can be said about it except that there was an altar in the nave at which the servants and tenants of the convent worshipped. If there is no allusion to this in documents before the sixteenth century, it is at any rate proved by the preservation of the nave after the suppression. What Whitaker called the "Saxon cure" seems to be a mere conjecture, the foundation of which is an inference from the importance given in Domesday to the manor of Bolton, of which in 1086 Skipton was merely a berewick. But of an early church or benefice there is no vestige, nor is there any indication that there was a church existing at Bolton when the priory was transferred thither from Embsay. The probability is that the cure came into existence for the sake of the dependents of the priory, which, though locally in the limits of the parish of Skipton, was itself extra-parochial. This is the only historical origin of the reason to which we owe the preservation of part of the priory church as a place of worship. After the suppression it was regarded as a chapel to Skipton and was served by a curate appointed by the vicar of the parish church; and it was not until 1864 that it became the church of an independent parish, though this step, of course, was no more than the legal recognition of what had been long a virtual fact.

¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII.*, xiii (ii), 71 (no. 180).

² *Ibid.*, p. 454 (no. 1064).

³ *Ibid.*, xiv (i), 59 (no. 162); *cf.* xv (i), 602 (no. 1355, 158b); *ibid.*, p. 68 (no. 185).

⁴ *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 199.

The list of the possessions of Bolton Priory made shortly after the suppression is printed in *Monasticon* from a Ministers' Account, and is as follows:

Bolton	Farm of demesne	£51	18s.	8d.
Halton	Rents and farms	£21	14s.	4½d.
Storiths with Hazelwood				
	Rents and farms	£22	0s.	11d.
Wigton	Do.	£6	1s.	1d.
Weeton	Do.	£4	12s.	10d.
Brandon	Do.	£2	16s.	0d.
Harewood	Do.	£13	19s.	10d.
Clifton	Do.		3s.	4d.
Skipton	Do.		14s.	4d.
Embsay and Eastby				
	Farm of manor, etc.	£24	18s.	1d.
Eastby	Rent assessed of free tenants		14s.	0d.
Kildwick	Rent of free tenants		14s.	6d.
Do.	Rent of tenants at will	£18	2s.	2d.
Silsden	Rents and farms	£1	14s.	8d.
Steeton	Farm of tenement		8s.	0d.
Eastburn	Do.		16s.	0d.
Glusburn	Farm of messuage		1s.	0d.
Farnhill	Farm of tenement		10s.	0d.
Sutton	Certain lands		14s.	0d.
Cononley	Farm of divers tenements	£9	2s.	6d.
Appletreewick				
	Rent assessed of free tenants		7s.	0½d.
Do.	Farm of divers tenements	£17	9s.	8d.
Do.	Toll of fair		13s.	4d.
Wentworth	Farm of manor	£6	13s.	4d.
Holmpton in Holderness				
	Manor		Nothing this year	
Yeadon	Rent of free tenants		9s.	1d.
Rawdon	Do.		11s.	7d.
Do.	Farm of manor	£11	16s.	11d.
Scosthrop, etc.				
	Rent of free tenants		16s.	8d.
Malham, Airton, etc.				
	Rent of tenants at will	£20	4s.	4d.
Preston	Farm of rectory	£24	0s.	0d.
Broughton	Do.	£10	0s.	0d.
Carlton	Do.	£8	10s.	0d.
Skipton	Do.	£30	6s.	8d.
Kildwick	Do.	£29	0s.	0d.
Harewood	Do.	£38	16s.	2½d.
Bolton	Farm of tithes	£6	0s.	0d.
Kettlewell	Pension from rector	£1	0s.	0d.
Keighley	Do.		13s.	4d.

This gives a gross revenue from the estates of £389 4s. 5½d.¹

¹ *Monasticon*, vi (i), 207.

To pursue the history of this property would take us far beyond the limits of our subject; but the grants made within a few years of the suppression by the Crown may be noted. On 21 July, 1539, Sir Christopher Hales, master of the Rolls, bought the manor of Apple-treewick, valued at £17 9s. 5½*d.* a year, for £314 10s.¹ This was followed on 5 November by a grant of a tenement in Kildwick to William Mamound, and on 26 November by one of a sixth of Kildwick grange to Edward Garford and Roger, his son, all of Kildwick.²

On 4 March, 1539-40, John Lambart of Calton paid £129 11s. 8*d.* for a grant in fee of all the possessions of the monastery in Malham, Airton, Hellifield, and Scosthrop, including among other particulars, the tenement called Malham Hall, and land and pasture called Gyl-derflathowe in Hellifield, to hold as fully as Richard Moone, the late prior, held the same.³ Subsequently, in 1546, Lambart was in arrears of rent, to the amount of 20s. 2*d.* for the five and a half years ended at Whitsuntide, 1545, for lands in Airton, and was ordered to pay, unless he could bring a discharge from the court of Augmentations within eight days, which, on application, he failed to obtain and had to pay.⁴

In December, 1540, two clothiers, Richard Wilkinson, of Bradford, and Thomas Drakes, of Halifax, had a grant, with other property, of the lordship and manor of Kildwick, with lands in Silsden, Steeton, Eastburn, Farnhill, and Sutton.⁵ On 10 November, 1541, they had licence to alienate a messuage in Steeton, one in Kildwick, a messuage and garden in Glusburn, the lands called Prior's leas in Sutton, a messuage and tenement in Kildwick, and 14s. rent in Sutton, Glusburn, and Kildwick, to Thomas Roper; with a further licence to alienate lands, tenements, etc., in Kildwick, and a third of the lordship and manor to Robert Dean.⁶

The most important possessions, however, were reserved for the hereditary founder and patron of the priory, Henry, earl of Cumberland. On 29 July, 1541, he is noted as in possession of the monastery of Bolton Canons in Craven, with lands there, the rectory of Preston, tithes from the rectory of Broughton and in the parish of Carlton, the rectories of Skipton and Kildwick, and certain tithes.⁷ This, however, was superseded by another arrangement, by which, on 3 April, 1542, he received a grant, for the payment of £2,490 1s. 1*d.* of the late priory of Bolton, with lands in Bolton and Storiths in the parish of Skipton, the manor and lordship of Halton, the grange called Halton grange, the messuage called Riddings in Halton, and lands there and in Embsay and Eastby, the manors of Storiths, Hazelwood, Wigton, Brandon, Embsay, Eastby, Cononley, Rawdon, and Yeadon,

¹ *I. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (i), 592 (no. 1354. g. 57).

² *Ibid.*, xv, 560 (no. 1032, 14, 15*b*).

³ *Ibid.*, xv, 167, 168 (no. 436, g. 18).

⁴ *Ibid.*, xxi (i), 606 (no. 1225).

⁵ *Ibid.*, xvi, 173, 174 (no. 379, g. 19).

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 639, 640 (no. 1391, g. 21, 22).

⁷ *Ibid.*, xvi, 721 (no. 1500. 167).

the messuage called the Hawhouse in Draughton and Berwick, and all other lands of the late priory in Bolton, Halton, Storiths, Hazelwood, Wigton, Weeton, Brandon, Skipton, Embsay, Eastby, Cononley, Rawdon, Yeadon, Draughton, Berwick, Preston, Gargrave, Stirton, Marton, Cracoe, Threshfield, and Barden. This comprehensive grant included other items of property which had belonged to St. Leonard's Hospital at York and to Marton Priory.¹

It will be seen that the advowsons and tithes mentioned in the earlier entry have no place in the later grant. The endowment granted to the dean and chapter of Christchurch, Oxford, on 31 August, and delivered on 15 September, 1542, contained the rectories of Preston, Broughton, Carlton, Skipton, and Kildwick, with the advowsons of the vicarages, and the chapel of Bolton, with all appurtenances in Preston, Hellifield, Wigglesworth, West Halton, Broughton, Carlton, Lothersden, Yoleson, Skipton, Stirton, Thorlby, Embsay, Eastby, Halton, Draughton, Berwick, Storiths, Hazelwood, Deerstones, Kildwick, Kildwick grange, Silsden, Briggends, Eastburn, Cononley, Collinghead, Newhall, Bradley, and Bolton. In some of these minor places certain tithes are specified, and, in addition to notes of fees in synodals and procurations from Broughton and Carlton, the stipend of the chaplain of Bolton is given as £5 6s. 8d.²

One final grant deserves mention, as it refers to property of the prior and convent in York to which allusion has once or twice been made, and to which the entry "Clifton" applies in the account printed above. This is a grant to Sir Richard Gressham, knight, and to Richard Billingforde of a messuage called "le Aungie" in the street called Bootham, and of an orchard in Clifton in the parish of St. Olave, York, and is dated 7 June, 1546.³

Thus the monastic estates passed into other hands. The subsequent history of the great block of property acquired by the lords of Skipton is well known. On the death of George Clifford, third earl of Cumberland, in 1616, the title of his brother, Francis, the heir to the earldom, to the barony of Skipton was contested on behalf of the deceased earl's daughter, Anne, countess of Dorset. That famous lady, though left for the time being with only a portion of her inheritance, succeeded to the whole in 1644, after the death of her cousin, the fifth earl. At her death, in 1676, the bulk of her estates, including Skipton Castle and the Clifford fee in Westmorland, went to her elder daughter, Margaret, who was married to John Tufton, second earl of Thanet, and so descended through the Tuftons to their present owner, Lord Hothfield. Bolton, on the other hand, reverted to her second cousin, Elizabeth, the only surviving child of the fifth earl of Cumberland, who was married to Richard Boyle, second earl of Cork and first earl of Burlington. On the death of their great-grandson, Richard, fourth earl of Cork and third earl of

¹ *Ibid.*, xvii, 158, 159 (no. 283, g. 11).

² *Ibid.*, xvii, 491 (no. 881, g. 26).

³ *Ibid.*, xx (i), 522 (no. 1081, g. 19).

Burlington, the famous amateur of architecture, in 1753, the barony of Clifford and the Bolton property came to his daughter, Charlotte Elizabeth, marchioness of Hartington. Lady Hartington died in 1754, when her barony passed to her son, William, who in 1764 succeeded his father as fifth duke of Devonshire. The barony of Clifford went into abeyance between the two sisters of the sixth duke, who died, unmarried, in 1858; but the Bolton estates descended through the male line of the house of Cavendish to their present owner, the ninth duke. In spite of the legend, dear to romantic minds, of the fate that attends the owners of monastic property, and in spite of the complications which have beset the descent of the ownership of Bolton priory, the present owner is the lineal descendant in the thirteenth generation of the original grantee, and in the twenty-first of the first of the Cliffords who succeeded to the position of founders and patrons of the monastery in the fourteenth century.

The history of the priory, which has been traced at some length in these pages, is not so romantic as its situation, and, founded as it is, and as all such histories are bound to be, upon legal documents, it is somewhat prosaic. Glimpses of the internal life of the community are few and far between: its financial and economic business forms the staple material for a record of its doings. The virtues and the failings of medieval monasteries may alike be greatly exaggerated, and the endeavour of the present writer has been to tell the story of the house in such a way that, were Prior John of Laund and Prior Richard Moone able to peruse it, they would recognise in it a fair and moderately accurate account of the life that was lived in that remote valley, more beautiful perhaps to us than it was to them, who regarded the woods and moors from the point of view of the agriculturist rather than of the sentimental tourist, and to whom, in their daily round of duty, the endless song of the Wharfe may occasionally have been more tedious than musical.

APPENDIX.

The account of the monastery of blessed Mary of Bolton from the feast of St. Martin in the winter, in the year of our Lord 1298, until the same feast in the year of our Lord 1299, for an entire year.

Arrears received.

Arrears of Wyntewurth for last year	.	.	40s.
From brother John, a lay brother	.	.	4s.
From William Gylemyn	.	.	5s. 5½d.
From brother Adam, a lay brother	.	.	11d.
From Gargrave	.	.	12d.
From brother Peter of Miton	.	.	3s. 4d.
From Adam, the reeve of Embsay	.	.	15d.
Total			55s. 10¼d. ¹

¹ If the figures are correct the total should be 55s. 11¼d.

Farms of lands.

From the farms of Malham for the year, 5*Is.* 6*d.* From Scothrop, 22*s.* 2*d.* Calton, 54*s.* 10*d.* Cracoe, 37*s.* 4*d.* Appletreewick, 19*s.* Arncliffe, 12*d.* Newsholme, 6*d.* Skipton, 6*s.* Eastby, 102*s.* 8½*d.* Storiths, £3 5*s.* 7½*d.* Farnhill, 22*s.* Cockholm, 5*s.* Bradley, 3*d.* Kildwick, 72*s.* 11¼*d.* Burghley, 2*s.* Weeton and Westskoiht,¹ £4 7*s.* Harewood, 31*s.* 6*d.* vill of Rawdon, 42*s.* Lofthouse, 4*s.* 4*d.* Brandon, 21*s.* 6*d.* Wyntewurth, £9 6*s.* 8*d.* manor of Quynnefeld, 6*s.* 8*d.* Gildusflat,² 6*s.* Airton, 27*s.* Marton, 40*s.* Thorp, 15*s.* Gargrave, 11*s.* Threshfield, 12*d.* Stirton, 8*s.* 4*d.* Embsay, £11 0*s.* 7*d.* Halton, £4 11*s.* 9*d.* Cononley, £4 10*s.* 7½*d.* Steeton and Eastburn, 23*s.* Glusburn, 12*d.* Newbiggin, 12*s.* 4*d.* Stubham and Scalewra, 9*s.* 1*d.* Hurrocastanes, 3*s.* 4*d.* Weardley, 8*s.* 8*d.* demesnes of Rawdon, 62*s.* 7*d.* Yeadon, 10*s.* Wigton, 25*s.* 9*d.* York, 29*s.* Draughton, 6*d.* Total, £77 19*s.* 0¼*d.*³

Farms of mills.

From the mills of Airton, 40*s.* Hellifield, 12*d.* Ravenswaht, 10*s.* Harewood, £10. Alwoodley, 5*s.* Rawdon, 13*s.* Marton, 60*s.* Airedale, £12 13*s.* 4*d.* Castley, 10*s.* Wigton, 30*s.* 4*d.* Keswick, 13*s.* 4*d.* Total, £31 16*s.* 0*d.*

Works released and tolls.

Embsay: works released, 77*s.*, tolls of fair, £8 14*s.* 8*d.*
Total, £12 11*s.* 8*d.*

Pensions received.

From the church of Keighley, 13*s.* 4*d.*; from Preston for three years, 6*s.*; from Kettlewell, 20*s.* And so it is quit for the present year. Total, 39*s.* 4*d.*

Debts received.

From William son of Cecily of Skipton	6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
From William the butler by H. Crocbain ¹	40 <i>s.</i>
From the rector of Preston in aid towards Scot- land	33 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
From the rector of Ilkley for the same	26 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
From Thomas of Weston	£13 7 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
From Richard le Peutrer	15 <i>s.</i>
From the executors of Raymond del Gile	12 <i>d.</i>
From John son of Bateman for Ingthorpe	10 <i>s.</i>
Total	£19 19 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ⁵

Sale of wool.

From John Rescevant and his fellows, for debt remaining on account	£20
From the same, for 29 sacks of wool	£260
For lockets and refuse wool	£9 4 <i>s.</i>
Total	£289 4 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>

¹ *Sic.* ? Keswick.² Gilderflathow, in Hellifield.³ *Rectius* £76 19*s.* 0¼*d.*⁴ In 1339 there is a mention of John son of Robert Crokebayn, a tenant of the priory in Cononley, who was hanged for felony (*Cal. Close Rolls* 1339-1341, p. 317).⁵ Should be £20 0*s.* 4*d.*

Sale of stock.

Two horses sold at Ripon	£9 13s. 4d.
A horse, mortuary of G. of Hamelton	5s.
Six heifers sold	59s.
A cow at Malham	10s. 6d.
A cow, by Adam the stockman	12s.
22 sheep sold	36s.
Tithe lambs from Airedale	78s.
Total	£19 13s. 10d.

Sale of wood. Nothing this year.

Sale of corn.

4 quarters, 5 bushels of wheat, 6½ bushels of beans in the parish of Skipton, sold by Adam the reeve	24s. 8d.
8 qu. oats from Broughton, 7½ qu. oats at Carl- ton	31s.
1 qu. 6 bush. oats at Skibden	3s. 6d.
10 qu. 6 bush. oats of the tithes of Airedale, sold	14s. 10d.
3 bush. rye, 6½ qu. oats from Cononley	12s. 6d.
2 bush. barley, 2 qu. oats from Malham	5s.
6 bush. wheat, 12 qu. 2 bush. oats, sold at How, Stede, Riddyngg, and Storiths	20s. 6¾d.
4 bush. beans, 5 qu. 6 bush. oats, sold at Ing- thorpe	14s. 2d.
Total	£6 6s. 0¾d. ¹

Sale of Meadow.

Grass sold at Thonnocker	4s. 4d.
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Allarage.

From Kildwick this year	£4 9s. 8d.
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Perquisites and fines.

Prior's and cellarer's perquisites	48s. 4d.
Fines of the wapentake at Harewood	2s. 8d.
Total	51s. 0d.

Corrodies sold.

From Isabel of Hawkswick, for corrody in part	£7 6s. 8d.
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Small receipts.

Manure sold at Cononley	6s. 6d.
From ploughing there	2s.
Milk of a cow at Ingthorpe	14d.
Total	9s. 8d.

The tailory. This year. £16

¹ Rectius £6 6s. 2¾d.

Receipts by loan from merchants.

From John Rescevant and Co. after receipt of wool	£60	
From the same at Boston fair	£22	3s. 4d.
From the same by the hands of the sacrist	£4	
From the same by the hands of master Nicholas of Tingwick at London	£26	
From the same by the hands of Coppe Cottenne	£47	
From Bernardo Manfredi	£200	
Total	£359	3s. 4d.

Small receipts by loan.

From Eve of Laund, 20s.; from Gillian of York, 20s.	
Total	40s.

TOTAL SUM OF ALL RECEIPTS £865 17s. 6½d.¹

*EXPENSES IN CASH.**Farms lapsed and forgiven.*

Lapse of farm of the meadow of Aldyhtmyre, being in the prior's hand	3s. 6d.
Do. of a toft in Eastby for Martinmas term	12d.
Pardon of farm to Thomas of Askelhale for the same term	30s. 6d.
Do. to Stephen son of Nell in Embsay	18d.
Lapse of farm of Ruccroft at Storiths	2s.
Do. of mill at Alwoodley	5s.
Do. of Mill at Keswick	13s. 4d.
Total	56s. 10d.

Farms paid.

To Skipton Castle for Lobwith, for a year	6s. 8d.
To the house of Kirkstall for Whitsun term last year	16s. 8d.
To the same for Martinmas term this year	16s. 8d.
To the house of St. Leonard for Martinmas term this year	6s. 8d.
To the nuns of Monkton for two terms this year	20s.
To Sir Hugh son of Henry for land in Airton, for a year	6s.
To the house of Fountains for land in Malham, for a year	6d.
To the canons of Kirkby ² for tithe of hay in Malham	16d.
To dame Margaret Nevyll for land in Gargrave	10s.
To Sir John Giliott for land in Swynewaht	1½d.
To Skipton Castle for the grange of Silsden	12d.
And at Draughton for Lynlandes	2d.
Total	£4 5s. 9½d.

¹ Rectius £853 11s. 0½d.

² i.e. the two canons of West Dereham who lived at Kirkby Malham, one of them being vicar.

Pensions paid.

To the house of Huntingdon ¹	106s.	8d.
To the church of Ilkley	10s.	
For the procuration of master Gilfrid, ² for four years	28s.	
To Richard de Vesey	60s.	
To John Gunwall, in part payment of his corrody	40s.	
To William Spirhard for his salary	50s.	
Total	£14	14s. 8d.

Debts paid.

To master Thomas of Arncliffe	£11	
To Thomas of Hornby for making a house in York	34s.	
To John Rescevant, in allowance made to the same	£139	6s. 8d.
To the fraterer	10s.	
To the same, according to covenant by indenture	£13	6s. 8d.
To a woman of Ripon	5s.	
To William of Hambleton by John Rescevant	£66	13s. 4d.
To the same	106s.	8d.
To Gregory of Thornton for a horse, in part	40s.	
To Arnold Wenge		20d.
To Sir John of Markenfield for last year's corn	£6	10s.
To William of the buttery		40s.
To the executors of W. de Langefeld	£6	13s. 4d.
To Sir William of Hambleton	£20	
Total	£275	8s. ³

Costs incurred in pleas and amercements.

To the king's chirographer for the fine of Ryther	3s.	
To the bailiff of Barston ⁴ for seisin of the same	2s.	2d.
For writs sued out by divers men	11s.	10d.
For three amercements in green wax	20s.	6d.
To a jury of Craven for the plea of Newbiggin	8s.	
To master Adam Tong for an instrument	10s.	8d.
To one of the bench for aid	3s.	4d.
To Michael of Kendale, proctor at York	6s.	8d.
At Skipton for the default of R. de Nevill	4s.	
To advocates for defence against provisions	20s.	
For the king's charters concerning the house of Gil. of Craven	34s.	5d.
Total	£6	5s. 1d. ⁵

Purchase of corn.

For the fruits of the church of Broughton last year	54s.	4d.
Do. for this and next year	£26	13s. 4d.
For corn bought at Gargrave last year	11s.	

¹ Pension from Kildwick church.² Probably Giffredus de Vezano, canon of Cambrai, the papal collector in England.³ Rectius £275 7s. 4d.⁴ i.e. the wapentake of Barkston Ash.⁵ Rectius £6 4s. 7d.

For 30 qu. wheat there	£7	13s.	4d.
For 6 qu. wheat bought there		30s.	
For 3 qu. corn at Broughton		14s.	
For 40 qu. wheat at Eshton	£10	6s.	8d.
For 8 qu. from Richard Fauvel		40s.	
For 60 qu. at Holme	£16		
For 5 bush. at Riddingg		3s.	9d.
For 10 qu. oats from the cellarer		20s.	
Total	£69	5s.	5d. ¹

Purchase of stock.

For a horse from the following: Henry of Keighley, £4; Adam Prefet, 40s.; J. de Middleton, 46s. 8d.; Eve of Laund, 41s. 5d.; Alan of Unkethorp, 4s. 8d.; the tailory, 50s.

For goats at Otley, 28s. 8d.; at Cononley, 26s. 8d.

Total . . £15 18s. 1d.

Purchase of wool.

For 28 sacks, 3½ stone of wool bought . . . £195 4s. 3d.

Kitchen expenses.

Pigs bought from Goydcher last year		16s.	8d.
Salt meat bought at Clithop in part	£11	6s.	1d.
Oxen, cows, bullocks and pigs, bought by parcels		63s.	11d.
Ducks, hens and kids bought at various times		19s.	2d.
Store of fish bought at Apelton	£4	13s.	4d.
Do. at Boston	£4	8s.	4d.
Fish and herrings bought by parcels	£8	13s.	11½d.
Eggs bought by parcels		21s.	2d.
Entertainment of divers persons within the court and without		27s.	2d.
Store for the year to come	£10		
Total	£46	9s.	9½d.

Purchase of salt.

18 qu. salt bought 42s.

Provisions against the Assumption.

In such provisions last year, in part		76s.	
Pepper, saffron, almonds, and other spices, the same year		5s.	
In such provisions this year	£9	9s.	7d.
Pepper, etc., this year		19s.	1d.
Three casks of wine bought with carriage of same	£7	15s.	2d.
Total	£22	4s.	10d.

Forge expenses.

Iron bought last year, 3s.; do. this year, 33s. 2d. Coals for burning, 18s. 2d. Horse-shoes with nails, 3s. 9d. A reaping-hook at the granges, 12d.; do. at Cononley, 11½d. Purchase of steel, 3s. 3d. Pitch and repair of bellows, 19d. Axes, locks and knives for the kitchen, 2s. 5d. Iron for shoeing farm-horses, and wages

¹ Rectius £69 6s. 5d.

of smith at Cononley, 2s. 2d. Iron for horse-shoes and plough-shares, and wages of smith at Kildwick, 8s. 3d. A scythe and 3 reaping-hooks there, 14d. Iron and wage of smith at Ingthorpe, 4s. 6d. Little reaping-hooks there, 7d. Iron for the ploughs at Malham, 12d.

Total . £4 5s. 0½d.¹

Repair of houses.

In making a new house at York, in part, last year	4s. 6¾d.
Repair of the old sheepfold at Malham	14s.
Timber bought at Thursdene with carriage	5s.
Do. at the mill-pond at Harewood	12s. 4d.
In sawing timber at Ryther	30s. 10d.
Sparstone, slatestone, etc., for the <i>camera</i> at Ryther	£6 3s. 10d.
Sawing of timber and making boards in the forest and elsewhere	56s. 2d.
Wages of Richard of Baildon and W. of Dysford for carpentry for a year	36s.
Repairing the granges of Bolton and covering them with stone, in part	109s. 8d.
For the repair of the church and the houses within the court ²	9s.
To a carpenter in wages for making the <i>camera</i> of Wigton	25s. 4d.
For carrying the mill-stones to Marton mill	3s. 4d.
For a thousand boards for the sheepfold at Malham	30s.
For repairing and covering the grange of Silsden with stone	£4 16s. 9d.
For repairing a little house there	2s. 4d.
For making a little house at Carlton	12s. 2d.
For making the house of Gilbert Racche in Halton	20d.
For repairing houses at Kildwick grange	3s. 6d.
For repairing the granges in the parish of Skipton	5s. 4d.
Repair of houses at Cononley, Gargrave, and Ingthorpe	12s. 4d.
Repair of the houses of How, Stede, Riddingg, Somerscales and Bradescache	7s. 7d.
Total	£30 2s. 8¾d. ³

Making of ploughs and wains.

Repair of ploughs at Ingthorpe	5½d.
Making of ploughs and wains at Cononley	19d.
Ploughs and wains at Kildwick	3s. 6d.
Total	6s. 6½d. ⁴

¹ Rectius £4 4s. 11½d.

² The curia or outer court of the monastery.

³ Rectius £30 1s. 8¾d.

⁴ Rectius 5s. 6½d.

Ditching and hedging.

Ditching and hedging at le Stede, How, and Lob-		
with, with assarting the meadow there . . .	8s.	1½d.
Ditching at Kildwick next the wood . . .	18s.	11d.
Do. at Ingthorpe		4d.
Enclosure about Westybank	2s.	
Total	29s.	4½d.

Cost of sheep.

Oil, tallow, and fat bought for smearing the sheep	£4	10s.	7½d.
Quicksilver and green paint bought at York . . .		22s.	9d.
24 lb. of green paint and 12 lb. of quicksilver at			
Boston		32s.	
Hay bought at Ingthorpe		9s.	6d.
Milk for the lambs		19s.	1½d.
Washing, shearing, barmecloths, and to women			
milking the sheep		15s.	2½d.
Total	£9	9s.	3½d. ¹

Cost of horses.

Oil and fat, with the wages of a marshal at York	4s.	1½d.
To Henry the smith of Appletreewick for his work	3s.	
To two horsemen	3s.	6d.
Total	10s.	7½d.

Prior's expenses: in all his journeys upon the business of the house for the year

£8 0s. 15¼d.

Necessaries for the prior.

Necessaries for the prior and his stable bought at		
York and at home	68s.	3d.
Spices, serges, and a mazer bought for the same		
at Boston	45s.	10½d.
Total	114s.	1½d.

Prior's gifts and alms.

Divers gifts and presents made to magnates for		
the advantage of the house, with alms . . .	£13	4s. 4½d.

Cellarer's necessities and expenses 39s. 3½d.

Expenses of messengers: for the year 35s. 6½d.

Provisions at Boston.

Cloth and furs bought at York last year . . .	£12	4s.	4½d.
Do. bought at Boston	£15	4s.	8d.
Half a cwt. of canvas and 26 ells of linen cloth . .		26s.	8¾d.
Saffron, pepper, galingale, cinnamon, almonds,			
rice, and sugar		55s.	6d.
Cords, hair-cloth, brocage, packers, and porters .		12s.	1½d.
Expenses of brother Richard of York in making			
the same provisions		21s.	5½d.
Total	£34	4s.	10¼d. ²

¹ Rectius £9 9s. 2½d.

² Rectius £33 4s. 10¼d.

Miscellaneous.

Tallow for the cellar and cowhouses, white leather and parchment	14s. 8d.
Sieves, riddles, and utensils for the kitchen, brew-house, carpenter's shed and cowhouses	13s. 6d.
Hemp, belts, headstalls, nets made with thread, and making of harness	16s. 2½d.
Mending a mazer of the chamber, and goblets against the feast of the Assumption	3s. 10d.
"Pro uno eq' st' ngulato cum canib. dom' & deterione 1 eq' de Adyngham"	4s. 9d.
Gloves for the oxherds and shoes for the prior's grooms	12s. 9d.
Expense of those harrowing on boondays, and carriage of straw	3s. 2d.
To Richard le Peutrer for his work upon divers vessels	16s. 8d.
Total	£4 11s. 8d. ¹

Threshing and winnowing.

Threshing corn at Bolton	41s. 4d.
Threshing and mowing corn at Otley	35s. 1d.
Threshing and winnowing the tithes of Airedale	47s. 11d.
Threshing and winnowing at Cononley	8s. 10½d.
Do. at Ridding, Stede, How, Berwick, and Storiths	15s. 0¾d.
Do. at Carlton, Broughton, and in the parish of Skipton	53s. 11½d.
Total	£10 2s. 2¾d.

Wages within the court.²

Adam Pog, for Whitsun term last year, 3s. 4d. The same, this year, 7s. 4d. William Giglygg for the year, 5s. Robert the baker, 5s. Elias the brewster, 5s. Roger Smalpas, 3s. 6d. Robert the smith, 8s. William the carpenter, 10s. Roger the miller, 3s. 6d. Richard the carpenter for Martinmas term, 5s. John of Rawdon, 8s. Two hookmen, 6s. A hookman for Whitsun term, 12d. A man in the guest-hall, 2s. Joylenedy for one term, 2s. 6d. Jurdan, the carter's page, 2s. 6d. Robert Quyrle, 2s. 6d. Dudde, for Whitsun term, 12d. A man in the lay brothers' infirmary, 18d. Peter le Moker, Richard the harrower, Elias the long, and Hulle, for Whitsun term, 4s. Nicholas 'dyerhs & byrs', 2s. 8d. Alan Pynnyn, for Whitsun term, 2s. 6d. Total . . . £4 11s. 10d.

Wages outside the court.

Wages of Simon Paunche, 7s. 8d. Jurdan at the granges, for Whitsun term, 2s. 6d. Richard Beche, nine oxherds, and two

¹ Rectius £4 5s. 6½d.

² It is possible from these details to calculate roughly the number of people permanently attached to the service of the priory, as Whitaker did. How far, however, these people were inhabitants of the premises is another question, and no estimate that can be obtained is likely to be accurate.

keepers of oxen at le Hynehouse, 68s. Two at the granges, and a female drier of corn there, 7s. Ralph le quereur, a fagotter, harrower, and sower, 13s. 8d. The foresters of Speyhttehow, Barden, and How, 6s. A rider, the groom of the storehouse, and the waggoner of the same, 9s. 8d. Oxherds of Riddingg, Stede, and How, 20s. Oxherds of Broughton, Cononley, and Ingthorpe, and Kildwick, 37s. Oxherds of Malham, one Dayce, and a keeper of oxen there, 10s. 8d. Four cowherds, and four minders of barren beasts, 20s. A mower and Alexander the cellarer's groom, 5s. 6d. A foreman and four foldmen at the sheepfold, 11s. 6d.

Total . £10 18s. 6d.¹

Purchase of meadow and agistments.

Meadow bought at Holme last year, 28s. Meadow at Snaghal the same year, 6s. 8d. Meadow there this year, 25s. 8d. For le Cotcheng at Skipton, 18s. For le Calvefal of Crofton, 2s. For 2 acres of meadow at Ryther, taken for the term of twelve years from the house of St. Nicholas at York, 40s. Total . £6 10s. 4d.

Mowing of meadow.

In mowing meadows at Bolton, 18s. 6d. Mowing and sowing Snaghal, 6s. 8d. Carrying hay there, 4s. 10d. Mowing at Eastby, 3s. 10d. Mowing and carrying at Kildwick, 17s. 3d. Mowing at Malham, 5s. 4d., at Somerscales, 5s. 3d., at Riddingg, 5s. 3d., at Ryther, 6s. 8d. Mowing and sowing at Holm, 5s. 3d. Mowing of the Cotcheng, 2s. 9d., of Lythebank, 4s. 4½d., at Cononley, 12d. Carrying hay at Ingthorpe, 12d. Mowing at Bradescagh, 5s., at How, 4s., at Broughton, 6s. 8d. Total . 101s. 7½d.²

Weeding corn.

Weeding corn at Kildwick, 18d., at Unkethorp, 13d.

Total . 2s. 7d.

Mowing corn.

Mowing corn at Bolton, Angrum, How, Stede, and Riddingg, £14 9s. 2½d., at Broughton, 33s. 4d., Cononley, 19s. 6d., Ingthorpe, 23s. 5d., Malham, 7s., Kildwick, 39s. 6d.

Total . £20 11s. 11½d.

Collection of tithe.

Collection of tithe in Airedale, 55s. 4d., at Broughton, 5s. 3½d., at Skipton and Carlton last year, 23s. 6d., this year, 18s.

Total . 102s. 1½d.

Carriage of tithe.

Carrying tithe in the parish of Skipton, 15s., in Airedale, 41s.

Total . 56s.

Foreign carriage.

Carriage of corn from Carlton to Bolton, 13s. 4d., from Airedale 37s. 11d., to York, 7s. 10d. Carriage of iron from Cartmel, 14d.

Total . 60s. 3d.

¹ Rectius £10 19s. 2d.

² Rectius 105s. 7½d.

Travelling expenses of canons.

For the subprior, 3s. Sir H. of Laund to Oxford, 13s. 4d. Brother John of Bradford, 3s. The same by the cellarer, 16d.

Total . 20s. 8d.

Habits of the brethren.

Habit of brother Simon of Otley, 10s. For Adam the stockman, 20s. Walter of Marton, J. the lay brother, and Walter Arkyl, 15½d.

Total . 31s. 3½d.

SUM TOTAL OF ALL EXPENSES . . . £841 18s. 10½d.

AND SO THEY ARE IN ARREAR . . . £23 18s. 8¼d.¹

of which

Sir Roger, the rector of the church of Preston, owes for cloth and spices, 102s. 2d., and for money lent to him at York for buying store (of fish), 12s. Sir Peter du Lound, for a loan, 33s. 4d., the clerk of W. of Hambleton, 3s. Walter of Midleton, 40s., master J. of Ilkley for lambs, 23s. 8d. Richard le Peutrer, 26s. 10d. Arrears of J. of Feysergh this year, 5s. 6d., of brother J. the lay brother, 6d., of Thorp, 6d., of the reeve of Embsay, 2s. 9½d., of Thounoker, 4s. 4d., of Draughton, 6d., of Newsholme, 6d., of Stubham and Scalewra, 3d., of Weardley, 8s. 8d., of Castley mill, 5s., of the manor of Quynnefeld, 6s. 8d., Reyner of Knol, 53s. 4d., James of Eshton, 53s. 4d., the abbot of Furness, 10s., Henry of Otley, 20s., of Gildusflat, 3s. 6d., of Gargrave, 6d., of Appletreewick, 6d., of Storiths, 3s. 9½d., of Cononley, 4d., of Airedale, 3s. 9¼d., of Burghley, 2s., of Hurrocstanes, 20d., of Wyntewurth, 40s., of Hellifield mill, 12d. And brother S. of Otley owes 8s. 9d.

Total of debts in arrear . £23 18s. 8¼d.

which equals the deficit.

Debts that are due to the house.

Sir Roger, the rector of the church of Preston, owes for a cask of wine, carriage of the same, and a carcase of beef, 64s. 6d. He also owes £66 13s. 4d. Simon de Stutevill, £26 13s. 4d.

Total . £90 11s. 2d.

Total of the whole debt due to the house,

£120 9s. 10¼d.

Debts which the house owes.

To John Resceunt and Co., £159 3s. 4d. To Sir W. of Hambleton, 79s. 8d. To master Thomas of Arncliffe, £13 6s. 8d. For bacon at Clethop, in part, £4. To William of Haverbergh, 33s. 4d. To Bernard Manfredi, £200. To John of Croxley, £33 6s. 8d. To Adam of Midelton, £10. For meadow at Holme, 24s. 8d.

Sum of the whole debt which the house owes,

£427 4s. 4d.

¹ The actual sum of expenses is £827 11s. 0½d., which leaves a balance of £26 0s. 0¼d.

Account of the granges in the parishes of Kildwick, Skipton, Carlton, and Broughton.

The parish of Kildwick is responsible this year for 9 qu. 6 bush. wheat, 14 qu. 1 bush. rye, 22 qu. 7 bush. barley, 551 qu. 1 bush. oats.

Total of dry corn in Airedale, 46 qu. 6 bush.

Total of oats, 551 qu. 1 bush.

The parish of Skipton: 95½ qu. wheat, 7 qu. 2 bush. rye, 4 qu. 6½ bush. beans, 9 qu. 6 bush. barley, 516 qu. 6 bush. oats.

Total of dry corn in the parish of Skipton, 117 qu. 2½ bush.

Total of oats, 516 qu. 6 bush.

Carlton: 17 qu. 1½ bush. wheat, 3½ qu. rye, 6 qu. barley, 3 qu. 3 bush. beans, 105 qu. oats.

Total of dry corn at Carlton, 30 qu. ½ bush.

Total of oats, 105 qu.

Broughton: 62 qu. wheat, 2½ qu. beans, 7 qu. barley, 111 qu. 6 bush. oats.

Total of dry corn, 71½ qu.

Total of oats, 111 qu. 6 bush.

Bolton: no mention of wheat, because it is not threshed this year. 65 qu. rye, 27½ qu. beans, 32 qu. barley, 569 qu. oats.

Total of dry corn, 104½ qu.

Total of oats, 569 qu.

Sum total of dry corn, 330 qu. 1 bush.

Sum total of oats, 111 qu. 6 bush.

Memorandum. Wheat certainly consumed this year within the house of Bolton, 188 qu. Uncertain within the court, 41 qu. 5 bush. In bread at Malham, Embsay, Skirgile, and against the feast of the Assumption, 18 qu. To Neel of Nescefeld for his corrody this year, 4 qu. 2½ bush. In bread for carpenters and carriers of timber in divers places, 1 qu. 4½ bush. In seed at Bolton, Angrum, How, and Riddingg, 35 qu. 5 bush.

Total consumption of corn, 269 qu. 1 bush.

Memorandum. Rye, beans, barley, and meal consumed this year in alms, 32½ qu. In bread for the cellar this year, 101 qu. 6 bush. In livery of the pages at the granges and of the swineherd, and in bread for the threshers, 12 qu. 4½ bush. In bread for the use of the weeders, pottage for the mowers and for the collectors of tithe, 8½ qu. In fodder for swine, porkers, geese, in bread for horses, and in other details, 14 qu. 6 bush. In seed at Bolton, 9 qu. 3½ bush. rye, 5 qu. 5½ bush. beans, and 7 qu. barley.

Total consumption of rye, beans, barley, and meal,

192 qu. 1½ bush.

Memorandum. In making of malt there were consumed this year, 848 qu. oats. In seed at Bolton, 205 qu. oats. In fodder of horses within and without the court, 334 qu. 5 bush. In making of meal for pottage in the kitchen, 84 qu. In bran for the dogs

this year, 55 qu. In fodder of oxen, foals, and lambs, with Spitelcorn estimated in sheaves, 59 qu. In fodder of swine, geese, and capons, 22½ qu. In fodder at Skirgile against the coming of Sir W. of Hambleton, 5 qu. To John Gunwall by covenant for the year, 3 qu. In divers liveries within the court and without, and in other details, as in the garnerer's account, 356 qu. 2 bush. Total consumption of oats, 1,842 qu. 7 bush.

Nett account of the manors.

Halton. Renders account this year of 50 qu. wheat, on an estimate in sheaves, at 5s. a quarter. Nett sum, £12 10s. Remainder

Riddyingg. Renders nett account of 17 qu. wheat at 5s., and 36 qu. oats at 20d. Total, £7 7s., from which are subtracted 6s. 8d. which the receiver pays for the wages of the oxherds there, and so he answers for £6 18s. 4d. nett, and there remain there 12 oxen.

Stede. Answers for 1 qu. 2 bush. rye, at 4s., and for 71 qu. oats, at 18d. Total, 111s. 6d., from which are subtracted 6s. 8d. which the bursar pays for the wages of the oxherds, and so it answers for 104s. 10d. nett, and there remain there 13 oxen.

How. Answers for 1½ qu. wheat, at 5s., 7 qu. 2 bush. rye, at 4s., 43 qu. oats, at 18d. Total, 101s., from which are subtracted 6s. 8d., which the bursar, etc. (as before), and so it answers for £4 14s. 4d. nett, and there remain there 12 oxen.

Malham. Answers for 10 qu. maslin of wheat and barley, at 4s. and for 23d. in drink for carriers of timber, and for 34 qu. 7 bush. oats, at 2s. Total, 109s. 11d., from which are subtracted 6s. 8d., etc. (as before), and 7s., which the bursar pays for mowing corn there, and so it answers for £4 16s. 3d. nett, and there remain there 16 oxen, 1 cow, 1 heifer in the third year, 1 mare, 1 three-year foal, and 1 two-year foal.

Cononley. Answers for 1 qu. 5 bush. rye, at 4s., 1 qu. 6 bush. barley, at 40d., and 68 qu. oats, at 20d. Total, £6 5s. 8d., from which are subtracted 21s. 8d. which the bursar pays for the wages of the oxherds and for autumn expenses there, and so it answers for 104s. nett, and no remains there.

Kildwick. No mention of the nett total of Kildwick this year, because it was not in the prior's hand, but there remain there a mare for the farm with a foal, 3 male farm-horses, also a mare from Cononley, a three-year filly, a four-year foal, a foal in its third year, also 30 oxen, 2 three-year heifers, 2 two-year steers, 11 cows, also a cow and a heifer in its fourth year. Received at Cononley.

Unkethorp. Answers for nothing this year. There remain there a mare with a foal of this year, a filly in its fourth year, 20 oxen, 4 cows, 6 calves of this year's issue, of which two are males.

Hinchous. There remain 109 oxen.

Cowhouses. There remain 4 bulls, 206 cows, 39 heifers in the second year, 43 in the third year, a heifer in the fifth year, 34 in the third, and 47 in the second. Beside these there remain 2 heifers received from R. of York and S. of Otley.

Stud. There remain a stallion, 27 mares, 6 fillies in the third year, 4 in the second year, 2 foals in the fourth year, 6 in the fourth, 4 in the second.

Sheep. There remain 627 wethers, 600 ewes, 500 hoggets of both sexes.

Also in the stockman's wain there remain 9 oxen.

Cowhouse at How. At the Invention of the Holy Cross, A.D. 1299, Adam of Elshow took the cowhouse of the How with 26 cows, and is bound to answer for 4 stone of cheese and 2 stone of butter from each cow, Total of stone of cheese, 104; of butter, 52. Of which he pays to the cellarer 75 stone of cheese and 39 stone of butter, and 410 gallons of milk, at $\frac{1}{2}d.$ a gallon, the which milk is allowed to him for 29 stone of cheese and 13 stone of butter, except 2*d.*, and so he owes a stone of cheese and 2*d.*

Cowhouse at Riddingg. On the day and year abovesaid Adam Parcour took the cowhouse of Riddingg with 21 cows, and is bound to answer, etc. (as before). Total of cheese, 84 stone, of butter, 42 stone, of the which he pays to the cellar 80 stone of cheese and 36 stone of butter and 100 gallons of milk, at $\frac{1}{2}d.$, the which milk is allowed to him for 6 stone of butter except 2*d.*, and so he owes 4 stone of cheese and 2*d.*

Somerscales. On the day and year abovesaid Henry the cowherd took the cowhouse of Somerscales with 18 cows, and is bound to render $3\frac{1}{2}$ stone of cheese and $1\frac{1}{2}$ stone of butter from each cow. Total of cheese, 63 stone, of butter, 27 stone, of which he pays to the cellar 53 stone of cheese and 27 stone of butter and 25 gallons of milk, which are allowed for 10 stone of cheese, and so are equal.

Cowhouse of the Stede. On the day and year abovesaid Robert of Somerscales took the cowhouse of the Stede with 17 cows, and is bound to render 4 stone of cheese and 2 stone of butter for each cow. Total of cheese, 68 stone, of butter, 34 stone, of which he pays 66 stone of cheese and 28 stone of butter and 93 gallons of milk, which are allowed to him for $5\frac{1}{2}$ stone of butter, and so he owes 2 stone of cheese and $\frac{1}{2}$ stone of butter.

Sum total of cheese, 259 stone.

Sum total of butter, 135 stone.

III.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE REMAINS OF BOLTON PRIORY.

The following pages embody the result of the excavations undertaken upon the site of the priory during the years 1922-1925. These have added to our knowledge of the plan of the older church by the uncovering of the foundations of the early east wall and of walls which divided the chapels of the transept. From the foundations of walls in the eastern range of the cloister buildings and the survival of a portion of its southern base-course, it has been possible to recover its original extent and some details of its arrangement and of subsequent alterations made to it; while the removal of the mound of earth which covered its south end has revealed the lower part of a southward extension added in the fourteenth century. Little that is new has been found in the south range, where the removal of the mound which filled the lower stage of the refectory, and a thorough examination of the ground below, produced no result. The whole of the ground-floor of the western range has been uncovered, with the bases of the columns which divided it into two rows of vaulted compartments; and to the west of this considerable remains of a later building have been found. On lowering the site of the cloister to its original level the foundations of the inner walls were opened up and found to be complete, with the exception of a short piece at the north-east corner. The base of the lavatory and its drain were also found. Excavation outside the immediate neighbourhood of the cloister was, for various reasons, impracticable. This summary account of results will enable distinction to be made between the fragments of the monastic buildings, apart from the church, which were visible above ground before 1923, and the foundations which have been revealed since and are now open.

Before entering upon a detailed description it should be said that houses of Austin canons followed the general type of monastic plan for their buildings, without introducing those variations which make the plan of a Cistercian monastery unmistakable. There is no plan that can be called Augustinian, and no apparent peculiarity in any individual plan that can be attributed to idiosyncrasies in the customs of the order, or that might not be found in a house of Benedictine or Cluniac monks. Even the chief offshoot from the main body of regular canons, the Premonstratensian order, although strongly influenced by Cistercian practice, did not imitate the Cistercian plan outside its churches, and even in these, as time went on, it followed habits which were more characteristic of canons than of

monks, but were not confined to any one particular order. While likenesses exist between features at Bolton and in other Augustinian monasteries, the discrepancies are also numerous; and, although some note will be taken of these, it will be found that no general principles, common to all houses of the order, and of this order alone, can be established.

As a preliminary it may be stated that the buildings included within the wall or dike which surrounded the precinct of a monastery fall into three main divisions. There were the buildings of the outer court or *curia*, which was entered through the ground-floor of the gatehouse. Secondly, the church and cloister buildings, the centre of the monastic life, occupied approximately the middle of the site. In the third place, beyond or beside these, but approached through the cloister, were the buildings, used for various purposes subsidiary to the main business of church and cloister, of which the principal was the infirmary. In describing these it is convenient to begin with the second group, upon which the others were dependent, and with its principal building, the conventual church, the services of which were the essential point upon which the life of the community was concentrated.

At present the ordinary approach to Bolton Priory is by the road which runs from south to north through the grounds of the Hall, and passes the west front of the church, leaving the Hall to the left. North-west of the church this rejoins the public road, which curves round the west side of the Hall, following the direction of the old precinct wall. The original entrance to the priory was through the gatehouse, due west of the cloister, which now forms the nucleus of the Hall buildings. The modern approach thus leads directly to the church and cloister.

THE PRIORY CHURCH: SUMMARY OF HISTORY.

The architectural history of the church is complicated by reason of the alterations which it underwent at various periods during the middle ages. It is possible, though by no means certain, that the canons, when they removed to Bolton from Embsay, found a chapel existing upon the site. The rough walling on both sides of the church immediately east of the crossing may have been retained from such a building, and is at any rate as early as the date of the migration. About 1170-1180 this building was lengthened, or, as is possible, repaired; the crossing-piers were built, and north and south transepts added, each of which had either two or three eastern chapels divided from one another by solid walls. The chapel on either side next the presbytery opened into it by an arch cut in the earlier wall. The choir at this date occupied the space beneath the crossing-arches. At this time also the south wall of the nave, next the cloister, was built, and a north wall must at any rate have been begun, to give abutment to the north-west pier of the crossing. Indications of the extent to which the nave was completed were removed by the operations which took place in the course of the next century. It is probable, however, that by 1190 its walls had risen only to a certain

height, and that its completion was left until the cloister buildings had reached an advanced stage.

The work of the church was taken up again about 1240, when the nave was proceeded with on a larger scale than had been originally contemplated. The upper part of the south wall, with a row of tall windows and an internal wall-passageway, was added. West of this the north wall of the western cloister building was included within the church, so that the west wall of the nave joined this building at its north-west angle. On the north side of the nave an aisle was made, with a clerestory above the arcade. During this period of building no additions were made east of the crossing, or so far as is known, to either arm of the transept.

The remodelling of the transept may have been contemplated as early as 1290, as the doorway in the west wall of the south arm is about this date. It was not completed, however, till nearly half-a-century later. About 1320-1330 the presbytery was extended to its present length, and almost entirely rebuilt. Much of the old stonework was re-used internally, and the lower part of the old walling at the west end was left *in situ* at the back of the choir-stalls, which were now removed from the crossing into the east arm. The north transept was recased externally, and an eastern aisle of two bays substituted for the earlier eastern chapels.¹ A similar aisle was made in the south transept, the south and west walls of which were rebuilt. The wall of the north aisle of the nave was also entirely reconstructed. All this work was probably finished about 1340; but it varies greatly in quality, and the contrast between the design of the magnificent series of windows in the choir and presbytery and the somewhat clumsy detail of the north transept points to the employment of more than one master-mason and to some economy in the later stages of the work.

The north chapel of the south transept was lengthened eastward in the fourteenth century, though the work may not have been completed till later, and, somewhat later, a small chapel, with a vault beneath, was constructed between its east wall and the next buttress of the presbytery. A doorway and arch for a tomb were made in the wall between the presbytery and this chapel. During the fifteenth century the western piers of the crossing were recased, apparently in consequence of danger to the tower above. Of this tower, which may have been begun in the thirteenth century, no traces remain: it is possible that the strengthening of the supports may have followed the addition of an upper stage in the fifteenth century.

In 1520 the western tower was begun and finished as high as the top of the tall arch by which it was intended to open into the nave. This work, however, was left unfinished at the suppression of the monastery, and the contemplated destruction of the thirteenth-century west wall was consequently never carried into effect. Since that date the nave, preserved for parochial services, has undergone

¹ The possibility that at this time the transept arms were both lengthened is discussed below.

no structural addition, although its present internal arrangements and furniture are the result of nineteenth-century restoration. The eastern part of the church, especially the east and south sides of the south transept, has suffered from decay and ruin, and most of the east aisle of the north transept has disappeared, with much of the window-tracery in all this part of the building; but the walls of the east arm, the main fabric of the north transept, the crossing-piers and arches, and the west wall of the south transept are in good preservation.

PRESBYTERY, ETC.: EXTERIOR (plates iii-vii).

The east arm of the church, including chancel, presbytery, and choir, is a long, aisleless building, divided externally into five bays by boldly projecting buttresses, which form part of the fourteenth-century reconstruction. The lower part of the bay next the crossing on either side was covered by the east aisles of the transepts, upon the east walls of which the first pair of buttresses was built. The bay east of this consists, to a short distance below the window sill, of very rough and large stonework, rudely coursed, which ceases on the south side before reaching the next buttress, and is there superseded by regularly coursed work with fine jointing, apparently of the later part of the twelfth century. The remaining three bays and the east wall are entirely of the fourteenth century, and are built of large blocks of the hard, reddish stone which was used for most of the church. The surface and edges of the masonry are remarkably sharp and fresh, and the whole work is an admirable example of the architecture of its period.

A base-course of two members, the upper surfaces of which have a slight ogee curve, begins on the west face of the second buttress from the crossing on the north side. It is broken by the renewal of the north-west corner of this buttress with a plain chamfered plinth. In the third bay, owing to the slope of the ground, it is dropped a foot. The foot of the next buttress has been renewed, as in the last instance. In the fourth bay, the base-course drops another foot, and is continued at this level round the east wall as far as the third buttress on the south side, against which the east wall of a small chapel was built at a later period. Since the destruction of this chapel a base with two chamfers has been added to the buttress. The base-course in the next bay was removed when the chapel was made, and the next buttress is joined by the east wall of the extended north chapel of the south transept.

Beneath the sills of the windows a string-course, with a hollow between two projecting members, runs along the north and south walls, marking the horizontal division in the two west bays between the fourteenth-century and earlier work, and is continued round the buttresses. It is now much perished immediately beneath the windows. In the three eastern bays the second course of the wall beneath the string projects with an ogee slope, sheltering the wall below from drippings, and interrupted by the buttresses. This,

however, was removed from the third bay on the south side when the small chapel was built, and some older stonework was re-used in its place, in which three small twelfth-century corbels were inserted for the wall-plate of the chapel roof. In the second bay, on both sides, there is a similar course with a very flat chamfer above the old walling, which is thicker than that to the east.

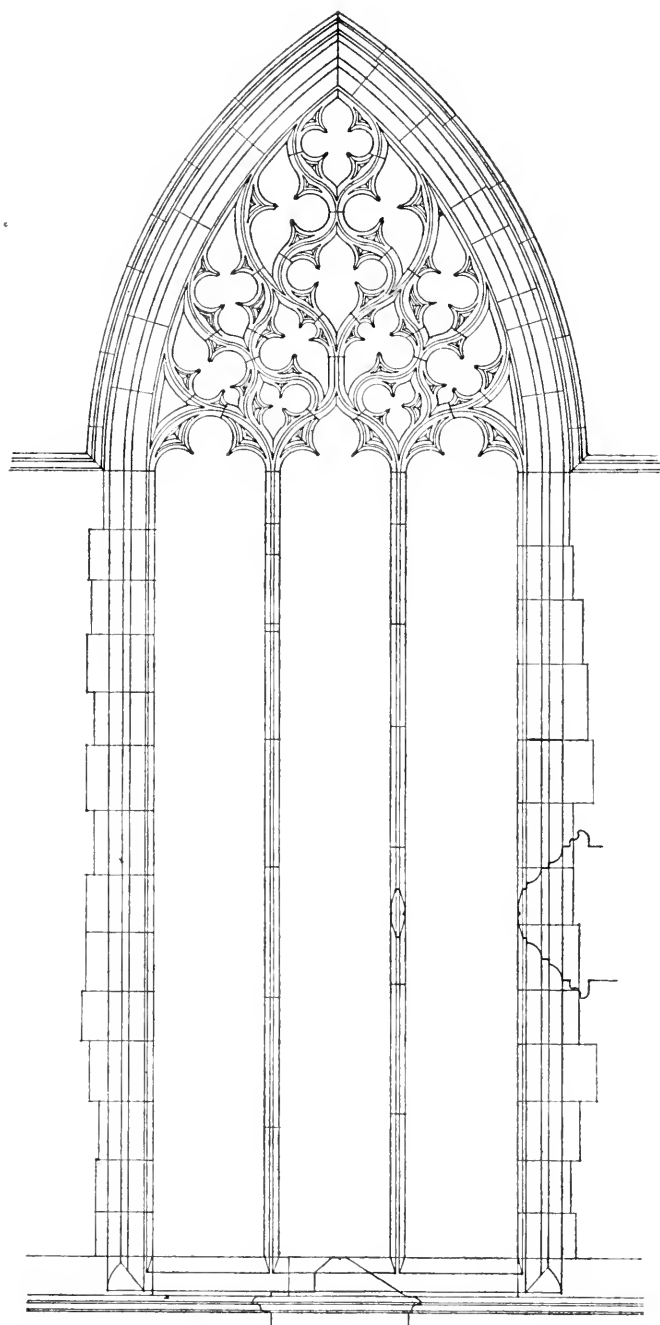
In the east wall, owing to the difference of level in the sill of the east window, this string-course is broken at the junction of the buttresses with the wall; but a similar string is carried across the wall about 2 ft. 6 in. lower down.

Above the sill-string the buttresses are gathered in with a chamfered off-set, and rise to a second string-course at the level of the springing of the window-arches, which is carried without a break round the whole of this part of the building, being continued as a hood round the windows. On either side of the east window it rises vertically from its normal level on the face of the wall, and is then joined by a horizontal piece to the springing of the arch, which is at a higher point than those of the lateral windows.

The windows in the lateral bays, tall and graceful in design, were each of three lights. Only one window, that in the bay east of the crossing on the south side, retains its mullions and delicate curvilinear tracery: this and the opposite window were not continued below the roofs of the transept aisles, but the mullions were brought down internally to the sill-string against the face of the stone-work. The fragments of tracery in the heads of the other windows show that their design was uniform throughout. The arches and jambs are moulded with two continuous hollow chamfers. This section is also employed in the east window, but upon a larger scale. The east window was a magnificent composition of seven lights, with tracery of curvilinear pattern developed from that of the lateral windows. Unfortunately, the only relics of the tracery are the fragments projecting from the soffit of the arch (plate vi).

The parapets along the tops of the lateral walls no longer exist; but the gable of the east wall remains with a small window, now much overgrown with ivy, in the narrow space above the head of the east window. Above the upper string-course, at the level of the springing of the arches, the buttresses were again gathered in with a chamfered off-set. Their topmost stage in each case was ornamented on the outer face by a shallow niche with cusped head and crocketed gable. These are now very imperfect, and the pinnacles which crowned them above the parapet level are gone. The fine pairs of angle-buttresses at the east end are in better preservation, however, than the rest, and the extreme south-east buttress not only retains its top stage, with a cinquefoil-headed niche in its east face, but its pinnacle is complete, with a niche in each of its four faces and a richly crocketed cap (plate vii).

The beauty of the fourteenth-century work can be best appreciated externally, where there is much less mingling of features of various dates than inside the building. It is excelled in size and in richness of detail by the great aisled choir of Selby, which was in



WINDOW IN SOUTH SIDE OF CHOIR.

Scale of $\frac{1}{4}$ inch = 1 foot

I. CHOIR: WINDOW IN SOUTH WALL.

progress at the same period¹; but in combined gracefulness and simplicity of design, and in reliance for effect upon excellence and strength of masonry, it holds its own with any building of its age. The best comparisons with it are found in the numerous fine aisleless chancels of the fourteenth century which are common in the eastern Midlands,² and of which the most conspicuous instance in Yorkshire is at Patrington; but it is on a larger scale than any of these, and has no close architectural connexion with any group of the kind. In a district which, in the later middle ages, was not marked by special architectural merit, it stands alone. In point of date, however, it follows not very long after the completion of the splendid eastern arm at Guisbrough³; and, considering the quality of the work which was done for churches of Austin canons there and at Bridlington, it is probable that the canons of Bolton employed a master-mason who had worked for other houses of their order in the county.

PRESBYTERY, ETC.: INTERIOR (plates viii-xx).

Internally, the building may be divided into three portions, chancel, presbytery, and choir. These do not correspond exactly to the external buttress division; but the chancel nearly answers to the eastern bay, added in the fourteenth century, the presbytery to the third and fourth bays from the crossing, rebuilt at that date, and the choir to the first and second bays, rebuilt only from the window-sills upwards. These may be taken in their chronological order, proceeding from the west end eastwards.

It has been said already that the choir was removed in the fourteenth century from the crossing into the west part of the extended eastern arm. The foundation of part of the stone screen, with loft or *pulpitum* above, together with the threshold of its doorway, are left uncovered below the east arch of the crossing. East of this, on either side of the first bay, a round-headed arch, 6 ft. 10 in. wide between the jambs, with a large edge-roll continued round the opening, communicates with the adjacent transept aisle.⁴ The south arch is almost perfect, but the upper part of that on the north, with much of the wall-face above, has been broken away.

¹ The work at Selby, begun about 1291, was not finished until about 1360. The portion which corresponds most nearly in date to the work at Bolton is the eastern part of the south aisle of the choir. See C. C. Hodges' introd. to *The Coucher-Book of Selby Abbey*, vol. ii, p. xxvi* (also *Yorks. Archaeol. Journ.*, xii, 368).

² Especially Heckington, Lincs. Cf. also Hawton, Notts., Navenby, Lincs., and the noble chancels of Dronfield, Norbury, and Sandiacre, Derbyshire.

³ The church of Guisbrough was unquestionably rebuilt after the great fire of 16 May, 1289, for which see Walter of Hemingburgh, ap. *Guisbrough Chartul.* (Surtees Soc.), ii, 353-4. The indulgences issued by Archbishop Greenfield, 30 Oct., 1309, and by Bishop Kellaw of Durham, 26 July, 1311, indicate that the new work was progressing slowly at those dates, if indeed it had been seriously begun (*ibid.*, ii, 355-6).

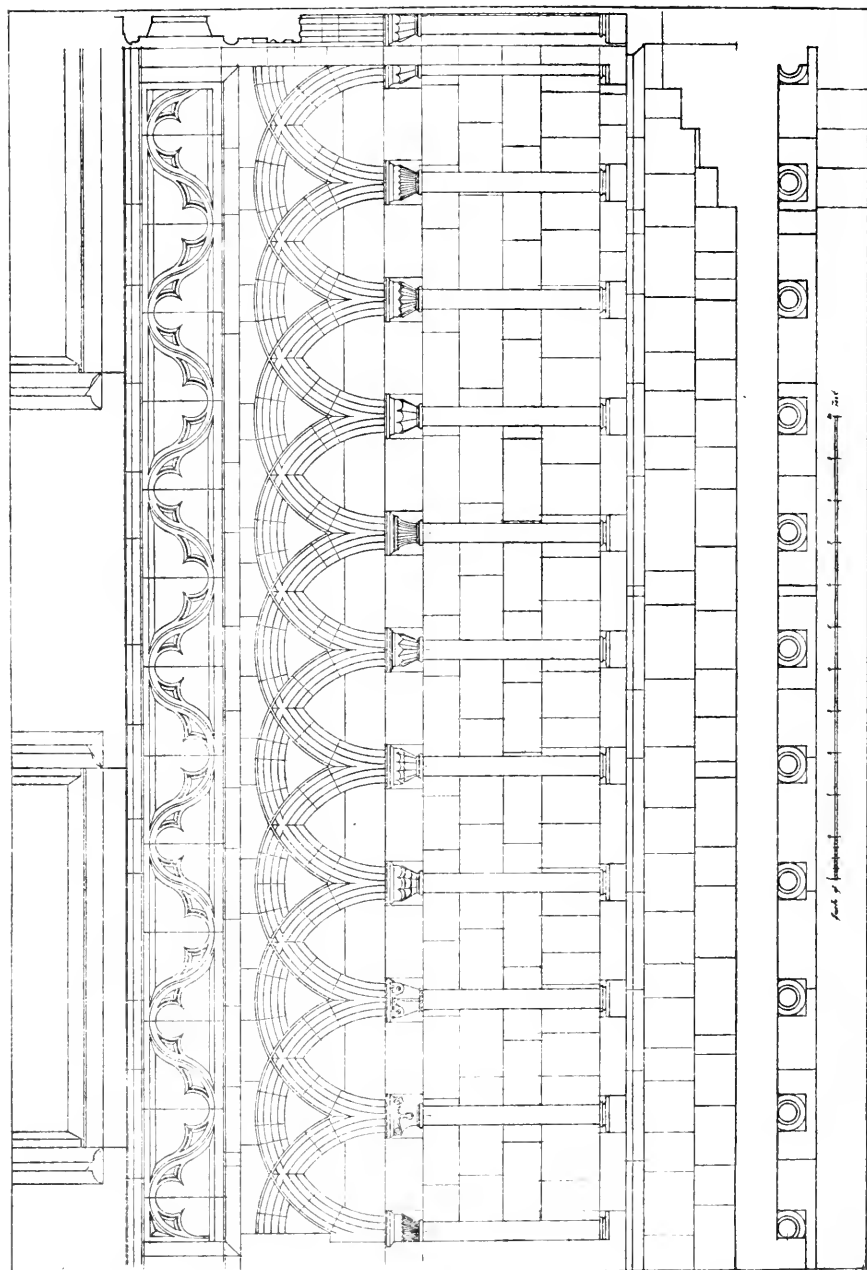
⁴ There are round-headed arches in the same position at Llanthony, where the presbytery underwent no later process of extension, and the choir remained in its original place.

On the side next the aisle each arch has a continuous chamfer. These arches were made through earlier walls in the later part of the twelfth century, and were intended to form the upper entries to the choir, which was then below the crossing. In the later arrangement they either opened, as shown in the plan, into the space beneath the choir-screen, or, if there was no east wall to the screen, they were blocked by the stalls, which in this case must have passed in front of them, being returned against the east face of the screen. The base of the stone plinth beneath the stalls remains in the floor on the north side, showing the angle at the return of the stalls.¹ There is no trace of a doorway or gate in either of the arches. Above them the north and south walls are fourteenth-century work, solid as far as the roofs of the transept-aisles, but with the mullions of the three-light windows above continued, as before mentioned, down the wall-face, so as to harmonise internally with the tall windows of the four eastern bays. The continuous upper and lower strings which have been noticed externally, are repeated internally with close similarity, and the arches and jambs of the lateral windows are moulded as on the outside (plates ix, xii).

East of the arches which formed the original upper entries, is a stretch of old wall on each side of the choir, of the rough character already described. Five feet above the ground-level are the traces of a ledge on which stood the bases of a series of shafts, forming part of a wall-arcade of intersecting round arches. The intersections form nine lancet-headed recesses on each side of the choir. The walls have been much cut down, and the only piece of the ledge left is at the east end on the south side, with a mutilated base upon it. The arches and capitals, however, are perfect, and their details may be discussed in connection with the wall-arcading further east. On the south side the rough walling continues at the back of the arcade, with some little insertion of later masonry in the upper part; but on the north the four upper courses, against which the arches and capitals are set, are of late twelfth-century ashlar (plate xiii).

On either side at the east end of the choir is a narrow strip of unarcaded wall, marking the end of the choir-stalls; and in the floor on the north side at this point is a stone with a slight rebate on its eastern edge, the remains of the plinth on which they terminated. Of this plinth another portion has already been noticed at the west end of the choir. As far as this it is clear that, though the interior of the choir bays was evidently remodelled in the fourteenth century, the old wall beneath the windows and at the back of the arcading was left with little disturbance. The presbytery, however, was entirely rebuilt. Before the alterations of the fourteenth century the church ended just short of the east end of the present fourth bay. The foundation of the twelfth-century east wall, 6 ft. 3 in. thick, extends across the whole building west of the chancel platform and beneath the north wall. The walling of the new pres-

¹ No foundation of an east wall of the screen has been discovered, and it is possible that the loft was carried by a single wall beneath the crossing-arch.



bytery was continued across this to the edge of the platform, where it meets the walls of the added eastern bay. At a height of 2 ft. 2 in. above the ground was a ledge similar to that in the choir, on which rested the bases of the shafts of an intersecting wall-arcade, similar, though with important variations, to that already mentioned, and forming ten lancet-headed recesses on each side. The ends of the ledge remain on both sides with the bases above: the projections of some of the bases are left on the north side, and part of the fifth base from the east on the south. On the north side the arches and capitals are complete; but, owing to the insertion of the tomb-arch in the south wall when the small outer chapel was built, the sixth, seventh, and eighth capitals have gone, together with the seventh lancet recess and the intersecting mouldings above, which were removed for the finial of the arch. The doorway cut through the wall west of the tomb removed the ninth and tenth shafts: it did not interfere, however, with their capitals, to which small shafts were fitted, formed by projections from the upper side of two of the voussoirs of the doorway arch.

As the ledge in the presbytery was much lower than that in the choir, a space was left between the arcading and the window-sills. This was filled by a long, horizontal panel on each side, along the face of which is carved an undulating rib, the alternating hollows on the upper and lower sides of which have bold cusping. All this was entirely new work, as well as the walling against which the arcades were set; but some twelfth-century stones were re-used in the latter, and the two courses of walling beneath the ledge are entirely of twelfth-century stonework, the upper course being reset vertically, with the narrower sides forming its inner face (plates xi, xiv, xx).

Apart from the difference of level, the wall-arcading of the presbytery presents two points of difference from that of the choir. The mouldings are similar, viz. two rolls worked on the wall-face and edge of the intersecting arches, but while in the choir these have only a quirk between them, in the presbytery they are undercut with an intermediate hollow. In the second place, while the intersections in the presbytery are mitred, in the choir the mouldings of one of the round arches are carried through those of the other at the points of intersection. It is also noticeable that the unbroken mouldings on the north side of the choir spring in each case from the east side of the intersection, while on the south they spring from the west, thus giving the effect of moving in two opposite directions. At first sight these discrepancies suggest that the two sets of arcading have always been separate, and possibly set as now at different levels. On closer examination, however, they appear to be of uniform height, and, by the evidence of the capitals and the remains of the bases of the shafts, to be of identically the same date, viz. 1170-1180. It is obvious that the presbytery arcading has been reset, for, apart from the fact that the wall at the back is of much later date, it is carried across the east wall of the twelfth-century church. Further, while the westernmost capitals on both sides have always been responds, the easternmost capitals are not true responds, but halves

of complete capitals adapted to their position by cutting down. As the capitals at the ends of both sides of the choir arcading are similarly complete capitals fitted to their present places, it becomes equally clear that these arcades have been made up of old material and reset.

What seems to have happened may be stated as follows. The old walling in the choir represents the earliest part of the church, and may even represent a building which was already in existence when the convent settled at Bolton. Whether this extended as far east as the old foundation which marks the end, at any rate, of the church as it existed until the fourteenth century, is uncertain: no trace of an earlier wall crossing the building west of this has been discovered. About 1170, when the crossing was set out and the transept begun, the west parts of the old walls were pierced with arches to provide, as has been said, upper entrances to the choir as then planned. East of these arches the walls were faced with a continuous intersecting arcade. Whether the old walling originally existed as far as the east wall, or whether the old building was lengthened eastward in the twelfth century, the arcading was continued, probably at one level, to the east wall, and was returned across it, as is indicated by a comparison of the measurements of the arcading which remains with those of the three sides of the twelfth-century chancel. In the fourteenth-century alterations the wall-arcading was removed and reset. Two sections of it were rebuilt above their original level, so as to appear at the back of the new choir-stalls, which formed an upper and lower tier above the ground-level. The remaining two sections were rebuilt at what was probably their original level on each side of the presbytery, the material of the arcading of the old east wall being used to face the extension of the north and south walls eastward. While the western sections of the arcading were left unaltered in detail, with the original treatment of the intersections, which clearly points to a continuous design running unbroken round the three sides of the building, the mouldings of the two eastern sections, the parts of which probably needed some adaptation to their new position, were recut and the intersections mitred. Thus what we see to-day, with the exception of the old walling of the choir, is a fourteenth-century adaptation of twelfth-century material. Although a considerable amount of twelfth-century ashlar was re-used in the new work, there is not enough to indicate positively that the work of 1170-1180 amounted to an extension of the earlier building; and it may have been confined to repair of the older walls with the addition of the arcading. On this point, however, it is impossible to come to a definite conclusion.

The capitals of the wall-arcading are of great variety and deserve careful study. Like so much other late twelfth-century work in the North, they were obviously influenced by the type of carving developed in Cistercian churches and derived in the first instance from Burgundy, and bear some resemblance to the capitals of the

vaulting and window-shafts at Byland.¹ Of the thirty-nine capitals or sections of capitals remaining, all are different. They have in common square abaci with chamfered under-edges. The motives employed are chiefly variations of the scallop, from the rounded and deeply-cut form to a series of slender bands closely set with sharp edges. In seven instances the capitals are carved with varieties of the water-leaf, with the ends curved upwards in small volutes, or with sharp leaves with acutely pointed ends; while in other cases the lower part of the capital is carved with a narrow band of conventional ornament in low relief, with fluting or scalloping above. In combined strength and refinement of detail these capitals are equal to the best work of their age, and on their own merits are sufficient to give Bolton a high place among English churches, independently of its other attractions (plates xv, xvi).

The chancel, as has been said, was added in the fourteenth century, and its masonry is entirely of this date. It was raised on a platform above the rest of the eastern arm: the old steps have entirely disappeared, and the present turfed steps have been made to follow the indications left by the plaster lines in the adjoining walls. The high altar is gone, and its foundation has disappeared. On the north side of the chancel, occupying the west part of the wall, is a large tomb-recess, inserted, as the mouldings of the arch show, towards the close of the fourteenth century: the mouldings are bold and rather coarse, with a wide hollow between a large roll and a broad roll and fillet on the soffit plane. The hood-moulding has a filleted edge with a bead beneath it. The finial of the arch is gone (plate xviii). It is unknown for whom this tomb was made.² The south side of the chancel was occupied by a piscina, which has been torn out of the wall, and by four sedilia of equal height, set within a moulded frame, of which only the lowest portions remain at each end. The seats are formed of half-octagonal blocks, carved on each of their three outer faces with acutely pointed trefoils within squares, and divided by vertical moulded pieces, which were probably continued upwards beside the seats to the canopies, which, with the uprights between the seats, have disappeared. The back of each seat is slightly recessed by shallow chamfering, the top of each recess being curved to a point (plate xix). As upon the exterior, there is a string-course below the sill of the great east window at a lower level than the lateral sill-strings, while the upper string is continued along the wall to the window-arch in the manner described in connexion with the outer side of the window. While the jambs and arches of the other

¹ Cf. also the capital on the east side of the doorway at Kirkstall on the south side of the cloister, reset in the fifteenth century to give access to the upper floor of the frater. The capitals of the window shafts in the late twelfth-century work at Ripon are of the same type.

² In a survey of the priory made in 1670 by Dr. Johnson, of Pontefract, it is noted that there was a statue leaning against the north wall of the choir, which he supposed to be that of "Lady Romilli," *i.e.* the foundress. It is possible that this tomb was made for her remains, and that the effigy in question belonged to it. Cf. the founder's tomb and effigy at St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, constructed long after his death.

windows are moulded alike on the outside and inside, the arch and jambs of the east window are treated differently on their inner face. The inner order has a hollow chamfer, but the outer order has a filleted edge-roll between two hollows, and there is a narrow bead next the outer hollow on the wall-face. These mouldings continue unbroken round the arch, but the edge-roll and bead end in moulded bases, with ogee profiles, at the level of the sill.

The alterations due to the addition of a small chapel on the south side of the presbytery have already been mentioned. The arcading on this side was broken by the insertion of a segmental arch for a tomb in the wall, open on both sides, and of a doorway to the west of it. This appears to have been done late in the fourteenth century: the doorway is perfect, with a hood and with chamfering in arch and jambs, but the finial is all that remains of the arch of the tomb on the side next the church. The soffit of the arch is panelled in squares divided by thin diagonals into four sections with trefoil cusping, and the upright pieces at the head and foot of the recess are carved with tracery of a definitely flamboyant character.¹ The table-tomb and effigy which were presumably beneath the arch, no longer exist, and the recess is now filled with loose stone-work. At present three steps lead down from the doorway into the area of the chapel. This, measuring 15 ft. east to west by 12 ft. from north to south, occupied the space between two of the buttresses. Its east wall was prolonged southwards for a few feet from the middle buttress on this side, and the south wall was built as far as the east wall of the extended north chapel of the south transept, which joins the next buttress to the west, and is common to both buildings. The original floor-level of the chapel has probably been lowered, as the arch of a low vault beneath the tomb, now open, rises above the present level of the ground. Whether this vault, however, existed originally is uncertain: it may have been made at a later date. The doorway on the inner side is rebated, and of the iron hinges of the door one remains: the entrance is splayed internally beneath a plain drop arch. The foundations of the east and south walls are visible. It is not known for whom the tomb was made and the chapel founded, but it may be fairly presumed that one of the Cliffords was buried here (plates xiv, xx).

CROSSING (plates xxi, xxiii-xxv).

The crossing of the church presents some curious features. As we have seen, the work undertaken in the eastern part of the building about 1170-1180 was, at any rate in great part if not altogether, the remodelling of an earlier structure, much of which was allowed to stand. This earlier building must have been used for the services of the convent, and it is probable that it was retained for that purpose until the choir under the crossing was ready for them. In this case the crossing and transept were the first part of the new

¹ This tracery is so rough that it is difficult to assign a positive date to it, and it may be rather later than it seems.

work to be begun, and may have been in progress as early as 1160. It is significant that the east wall of the north transept was not bonded into the adjoining wall of the choir, which is part of the old and rougher work. How far the older building extended westward it is impossible to say; but the irregularity in the plan of the crossing indicates that the western portion stood within this space, and was left standing while building went on. The plan of the crossing is a marked oblong, with the longer sides on the east and west. The centres of the two western piers, however, are 1 ft. 1 in. wider apart than those of the eastern, without any diminution in the plan of the piers, with the result that the north and south crossing-arches are not parallel, but on a slant. In consequence, the main axis of each arm of the transept is not perpendicular to the longer axis of the crossing, but each of these arms is canted slightly eastward, with a curious effect on plan. Such an arrangement can hardly have been intentional, and we can assume only, in explanation of an undoubted fact, that the east and west sides of the space were set out by a miscalculation due to the presence of part of the old building on the site.¹

The east piers of the crossing are rectangular, with chamfered angles, and with round soffit shafts on their west faces. The faces towards north and south respectively are recessed in two orders, with similar soffit shafts. All these shafts have scalloped capitals with square chamfered abaci, which were continued along the faces of the piers, but are now largely broken away. The bases have a flat curve without any hollow moulding. The western piers were treated similarly, but at a later date were recased and strengthened. Owing to the modern wall between the crossing and the nave, it is difficult to get a clear idea of what was done. The soffit shafts on the east faces remain, the base of that on the north having a more advanced profile than the others, with a pronounced water-moulding; but for the capital of this shaft has been substituted a plain capital with a hollow between two broad projections and a shallow cavetto above the neck-moulding, and this is repeated above the chamfered faces of the pier. The south-west pier seems to be treated in the same way, but the springing of the arches is here covered with ivy. On the north face of this pier part of the base of the soffit shaft remains, of a somewhat more advanced character than that on the east face, but the shaft itself has been removed, and a plain chamfered projection built in its place. The base of the corresponding shaft in the north-west pier can be traced beneath

¹ The east and west sides of the transept are not parallel, the east arcades being set out in a straight line with the east arch of the crossing, while the west walls are perpendicular to the slanting sides of the crossing from east to west. This irregularity noticeably affected the adjoining east range of the cloister, in which the slant of the south transept is continued. The most likely explanation is that the west wall of the old church occupied the space now covered by the west arch of the crossing and the adjoining piers. If this wall had pilaster-buttresses at its angles, this would account for the defective setting-out of the crossing, the width of the west side being taken from the outer face of one buttress to that of the other, and so including a projection at either end.

a similar addition, to the east of which, and divided from it by a deep, rectangular hollow, another chamfered projection of the same type has been built to reinforce the pier.

The arches are all later than the piers. The east and west arches are bluntly pointed, with three broad chamfers on either side. The north and south arches, over the narrower spaces, have acutely pointed heads, and have three chamfers with plain hoods. Their springing is encroached upon by the east arch, and the outer chamfer in each case begins at some distance above the springing-point with a moulded corbel terminating in a human head, and finishes before colliding with the west arch, but at a lower point (plates xxiv, xxv).

While the piers, as has been said, were planned and the eastern piers built about 1160, the western piers do not seem to have been finished till several years later, to judge by the details of the bases of the soffit shafts. The present arches were certainly not built until the thirteenth century, or even later: their treatment with three chamfers bears no relation to the membering of the piers, and the outer order of the north and south arches is crowded in so awkwardly as to suggest that all four arches were reconstructed and strengthened in the present plain fashion at a period later than their appearance would seem to indicate.¹ The corbels in the north and south arches seem to be insertions, while the hood-moulding of the east arch is of early fourteenth-century character. Thus the east and west arches were probably rebuilt when the alterations of the fourteenth century were made in the eastern arm, and the north and south arches were altered at the same time, if not wholly reconstructed. To this date also may be assigned the recasing of the western piers: the capitals of the north-west pier are part of a thickening which projects beyond the springing of the arches, and their detail points at earliest to the later part of the fourteenth century.² On the other hand, the somewhat similar treatment of the capitals on the west side of the opposite pier, as seen from the interior of the nave, is earlier in character. Throughout, the plainness of the work is an insufficient guide to date, and all that can be said definitely is that, whether at a single period or at intervals, it was found necessary to strengthen the arches and western piers by rebuilding and the addition of masonry. Nothing remains of the tower above the crossing, which was no doubt responsible for this: it may be said, however,

¹ The north and south arches cannot have been built, in any case, until proper abutment was provided for them in the nave, and this cannot have been effected until about 1240. When the east and west arches were reconstructed these were probably left much as they were, apart from the awkward alteration to their east sides.

² The north-west pier, as may be seen from the inside of the nave, suffered further alteration in the fifteenth century, when its south face was cut back about 1 ft. 3 ins., the soffit-shaft being re-used, but slightly to the west of its previous position. The west arch was not altered at this date, but was left with its apex in the old centre. It is difficult to see why the change was made, unless it was due to the insertion of a new rood-screen, for which the space beneath the arch had to be specially adapted. The cuts for the great transverse beam of this screen are left in the piers on each side of the present altar. The earlier rood-screen, of which no trace remains, was further west.

that the addition of an upper stage as part of the early fourteenth-century work may well have led to the remodelling of the supports.

NORTH TRANSEPT (plates xxii, xxiii, xxvi, xxvii, xxxviii).

An angle-shaft with a tall scalloped capital, adjoining the north-east crossing-pier, is all that remains above ground of the original north transept (plate xxvi). This apparently had three vaulted chapels upon its east side, divided from one another by solid walls, after the plan employed in Cistercian churches, as for example, at Kirkstall. The foundation of the wall between the northern and middle chapels has been exposed, but no traces have been found of that between the middle and south chapels. It may be noticed here that, in the south transept, of the corresponding foundations likewise one exists and the other is wanting. As the upper entries to the earlier choir opened from the chapels adjoining the eastern arm of the church, which were thus merely vestibules, it is possible that in each case these were left open to the middle chapels and that no dividing wall was built.¹

Both arms of the transept, with their eastern chapels, were reconstructed in the fourteenth century, as part of the general work undertaken at this time.² The internal masonry of the north transept is very rough, and much twelfth-century masonry has been re-used, but externally the stonework is all of the later period, and corresponds closely to that of the eastern part of the church. Part of the west face is covered by the north aisle of the nave, which opens

¹ Transept-chapels divided by solid walls, as at Bolton, occur in Premonstratensian churches, as at Easby, Titchfield, and Talley, where there were three in each arm of the transept, and at Bayham, where there were two. In churches of canons, however, there was a tendency to prolong the chapels next the choir eastward, as was actually done with the chapel in this position in the south transept at Bolton at a comparatively late date. At Lilleshall the chapel in each arm of the transept was thus lengthened, the walls of the choir being left intact: similar arrangements may be noted at Haughmond, Mottisfont, and Weybourne. This led to the treatment of such chapels as aisles, with arcades opening into the presbytery, but stopping short of the east end. Thus a plan characteristic of canons' churches was produced, as in the Premonstratensian church of Dryburgh and at Lanercost, where the extension is of one and two bays respectively. Full developments of choirs and presbyteries thus aisled are seen at Newark (Surrey) and Repton, and on a large scale at Bristol, where the unaisled Lady Chapel projected two bays east of the aisled choir. At Brinkburn, where there are two chapels in each arm of the transept, they are undivided and open into the first bay east of the crossing. The nearest parallel to the original plan at Bolton is at Kirkham, where there were two chapels with solid divisions and without eastward extension.

² Mr. Peers suggests that the arms of the transept may have been extended north and south. No remains of foundations crossing the interior of the transept have been discovered west of the chapels, and it is therefore impossible to state this as a fact. There are, however, three points in favour of the theory: (1) the absence of complete evidence for three original chapels on the east side of each arm; (2) the fact that the south arm covers the east side of the cloister to an unusual extent, so that almost the whole of the east range of buildings is outside the cloister proper; (3) the alterations which took place in the fourteenth century in the part of this range next the church, of which more hereafter.

into the transept by a pointed arch, now blocked, of three chamfered orders supported on each side by a semi-octagonal respond, the capital of which has a heavy square abacus, with two plain receding hollows and a plain neck-moulding below. The treatment of the west and north walls follows closely that described in connexion with the presbytery and chancel. The base-course, the string below the sills, and the upper string, which is carried from the point of junction between the west wall and the clerestory of the nave, and is brought over the heads of the windows as a hood-mould, are continued round the buttresses. In the west wall are two tall three-light windows without an intermediate buttress. At the north-west angle is a pair of buttresses, set at right angles to each other and projecting more than 7 ft. in their lower members. These have off-sets at the level of both strings, and a third between the lower string and the base-course, and the outward faces of their upper stages are recessed with two niches each. The pinnacles have gone. There is a similar buttress at the north-east corner next the aisle. In the north wall is a large five-light window, the tracery of which, like that of the two western windows, is mostly destroyed. It had, however, a large circle in the head, and was therefore of a somewhat different design from the rest. The gable above has disappeared (plate xxiii).

Of the east aisle only the north wall and fragments of the east wall are left. The base-course is similar to that of the transept, but is reduced in size: the sill-string is a scroll, 7 ft. lower than the sill-string of the transept. These were continued round the angle-buttresses, which are much broken, and along the east wall. Above the sill-string in the north wall is a broken three-light window, with an inner splay and rere-arch with hollow chamfer. The north part of the foundation of the east wall, which was also that of the earlier wall, remains, and, as already noted, joins the early wall of the choir without a bond (plate xxii, 2).

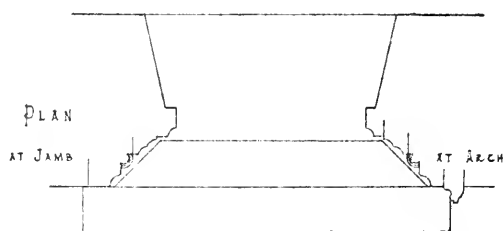
There were probably three windows in the east wall of the aisle, each above an altar. As reconstructed, the former divisions between the east chapels were taken down with the vaulting, and an arcade of two wide bays constructed between the aisle and transept. The arches have three chamfered orders with a hood-mould, and are divided by a massive octagonal column with a somewhat coarsely moulded capital and a very plain base with its lower member chamfered. The north respond corresponds in character; but the south respond is a plain projection with chamfered edges retained from the older work, with the angle-shaft already mentioned, the abacus of which is carried as a string to the east face of the respond, where it ends in a corbel. Compared with the rest of the fourteenth-century work, this arcade is heavy and clumsy: its somewhat inferior character, however, may be due, not to lack of funds or of skill in design, so much as to the need of solid abutment to the crossing-piers on this side. In the clerestory above the arcade are two three-light windows with flat, arched heads, filled with reticulated tracery. These have a broad chamfer externally: internally they are set

WEST DOOR TO SOUTH TRANSEPT.



Section

ELEVATION



Scale of 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 10 feet.

III. SOUTH TRANSEPT: DOORWAY IN WEST WALL.

deep within chamfered rere-arches. Their hoods form a continuation of the upper string-course of the transept, which is raised upon both faces of the wall to their springing-level.

In the wall of the choir adjoining the aisle is a thirteenth-century recess for a piscina, with an edge-roll: the projecting bowl has been cut away. The screens dividing the aisle from the transept have left their traces in numerous holes in the pier and responds. There are also traces of a screen against the west face of the pier, the reason for which is not obvious.

SOUTH TRANSEPT (plates xxi, xxviii, xxix, xlvii, lii).

The south transept was treated in a similar way, but with somewhat more elegance of detail. Here also, the respond adjoining the crossing-pier was kept, but, with its angle-shaft, has now been removed. Above its site, however, and the springing of the later arch, there remain the north jamb and lower part of the arch of a round-headed twelfth-century opening with an edge-roll, the only survival of the original clerestory of either transept-arm. The south transept otherwise was entirely rebuilt during the fourteenth-century operations. The west wall, adjoining the cloister, is perfect: at the ground-level it has a plain damp-course, the projecting base-course being omitted to make room for the cloister-walk. Below the corbels of the cloister roof the wall is disfigured by a row of large holes with smaller holes below, the traces of a shed which was built against it in comparatively modern times. Above the cloister roof there are two three-light windows, the tracery of which has perished, with sloping sills and a plain string below. The hoods, as usual, are formed by the continuation of an upper string, which is carried along the wall to the south face of the buttress in which it ends. This buttress, which retains its upper stage and pinnacle, descended upon the west wall of the eastern cloister-range, and has been propped by means which will be described later (plates xlvii, lii).

At the north end of the west wall, close to the angle between it and the south wall of the nave, is a beautiful doorway with a suite of delicately-cut mouldings in arch and jambs, and a trefoiled head with pierced spandrels. A roll-moulding in the middle of the suite corresponds to a small jamb-shaft on each side, with conventional foliage carved on the capital and a hollow in the base. Internally, this doorway, from which three steps lead down to the cloister floor, is splayed with a chamfered rere-arch. The details indicate a date about 1290, and the wall in which it stands may thus have been begun at that time, though it was not finished till later. The reason for the doorway will be discussed below (see p. 156 and plates xxviii, xxix).

The south wall has been almost entirely destroyed, with the exception of an overhanging fragment at the west end, which has been propped by a large mass of comparatively modern masonry.¹ The lifting of the internal hood-string of the windows upon the wall-face, as in the east wall of the chancel, shows that there was a large window placed high in the wall above the dormitory roof. Pieces

¹ There is no record of the date at which this was done.

of the lower courses of the wall remain: here, of course, it adjoined the cloister buildings. Its base-course appears at the south-east angle of the aisle, where a large octagonal buttress touched an angle of the fourteenth-century chapter-house. From this point it is continued along the foot of the east wall and the buttress marking the division between the middle and south chapels. North of the middle chapel it is returned eastwards along the south wall of the extended north chapel, with a buttress close to the angle which is thus formed, and is carried round a pair of buttresses at the south-east angle of this chapel to the junction of its east wall with the second buttress east of the crossing. Only fragments of these walls remain above the base-course. A large number of fragments of stonework, chiefly pieces of tracery from the ruined windows, have been placed upon these scanty remains of two sides of the transept, as a barrier against the sheep which have been allowed to browse upon the grass-grown site of the cloister buildings.

Inside the south transept the west wall, which has no sill-string below the windows, was partly covered by the night-stair from the dormitory, the foundation and threshold of which remain.¹ This was not bonded into the wall, which is of ashlar throughout, and shows no marks of any attachment. Although the remains of the doorway at the head of the night-stair are not much earlier than the reconstruction of the transept, it is possible that the stair was removed in the fourteenth century: this, at any rate, would account for the absence of any trace of it upon the west wall.²

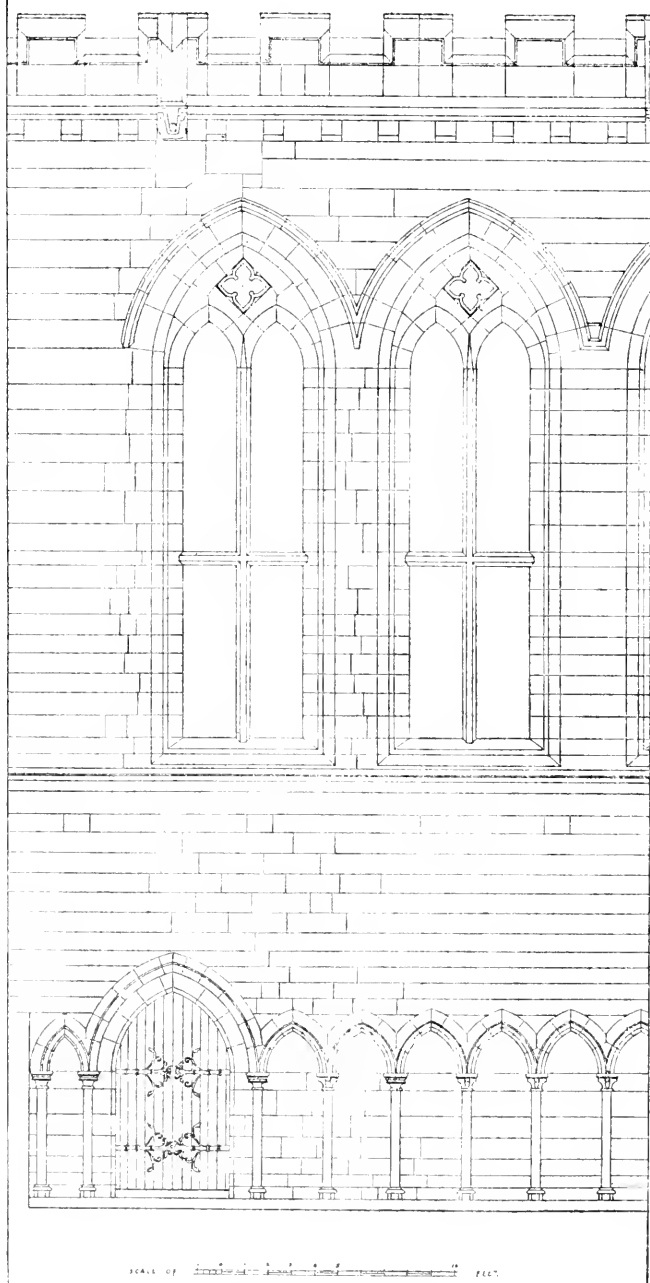
Of the arcade between the south transept and its aisle, only the lowest member of the bases of the pier and south respond are left. These appear to have been composed of clusters of closely-attached shafts, the pier having its full complement of eight, while the respond had five. The respond was brought a little distance forward from the south wall, to allow of the insertion of a narrow vice, the lowest step of which remains, in the masonry behind it. It is difficult to see the object of this stair, as there is no indication that the aisle was vaulted after its reconstruction, and the windows in this part of the building have no sill-passage; but it may have led to a chamber above the passage south of the church, where the treasury of the monastery would have been appropriately situated.

As in the north transept, the east aisle contained three chapels, and large portions of the middle and south altars are left against fragments of the east wall. It has been said already that the founda-

¹ If the transept was extended southward the threshold may be that of the original night-stair, and the later stair may have descended to a point further south.

² The position of the night-stair at Bolton may be paralleled by the famous example at Hexham; but at Bolton there was no platform at the head, like that beneath which the slype or parlour at Hexham is carried. Examples of straight stairs into the transept are fairly common, as at the Cistercian churches of Fountains and Tintern, and the Premonstratensian church of Halesowen. The arrangements for it, however, varied considerably. At Bristol and Christ Church, Oxford, it is in the south transept, but is carried up in a building against the end wall.

EXTERIOR OF SOUTH SIDE OF NAVE



IV. NAVE: SOUTH SIDE, EXTERIOR.

tion of the original wall between these two chapels is exposed; but that of the northern wall, if it existed, is gone. The northern chapel was extended eastward as far as the second buttress of the eastern arm, and from the base-course, previously described, it is clear that this prolongation formed part of the fourteenth-century work. Between this extension and the aisle, however, there was a window, of which the north jamb and part of the arch remain, with a broad wave-moulding. This window was glazed, and, as the sloping roof of the extension, the marks of which remain, was above it, its practical use is not apparent. It seems to be later in date than the rest of the work, and therefore to imply a contemplated change in design. It may be that the eastward extension was not completed till later. It was doubtless, however, designed as a sacristy, and there must have been a doorway into it in the wall beneath the window.

There is a large grave-slab in the floor of the transept, in front of the north chapel, and another one is placed upon the foundation of the night-stair. In addition to the fragments of stonework piled above the ruins of the south and east walls, there is a large heap in the south-west corner of the transept.

NAVE: EXTERIOR (plates xxx-xxxii, xlvii).

We now turn to the nave, now used as the parish church, and divided by a wall from the crossing. The date of its construction has been briefly touched upon. The lower part of the south wall, adjoining the cloister, was built about 1190, at which time the cloister buildings were being taken in hand, and was completed as far as the corbels of the cloister roof. At its east and west ends, with a single lancet-arch in the spaces between them and the adjoining walls, are the two cloister doorways, opening from the east and west walks respectively, which are usually found in monastic churches. These were approached from the cloister by steps, which no longer exist. Between them, upon a ledge 2 ft. 6 in. above the cloister walk, is a wall-arcade of fifteen lancet-arches, moulded with two rolls, which are carried to a higher level round the heads of the doorways. Both doorways have an inner arch with a chamfered edge, the outer arches being carried on the capitals common to the adjoining wall-arcading. In the lancet-arch between the east doorway and the transept wall is a recess for a holy-water stoup, with a remarkable projecting cup-shaped bowl, carved thickly with conventional foliage in low relief.

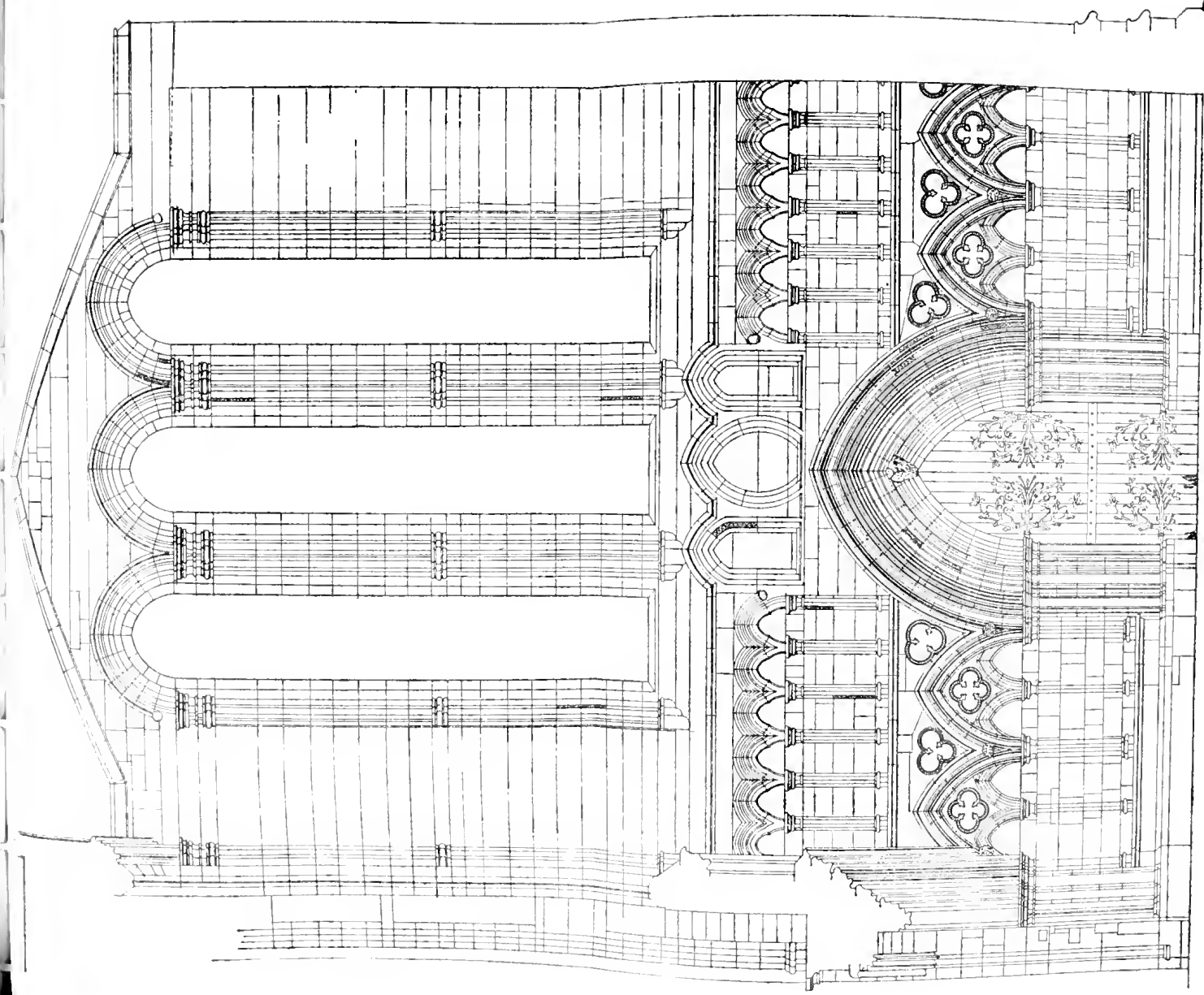
The capitals of the shafts of the wall-arcade, including the isolated lancet-arches to east and west, remain with two exceptions. Five shafts with their bases are perfect, and three other bases are left, together with fragments of three, and the projections of two more; but much of the ledge on which they rest has been broken away. The capitals are of two types, used, though not regularly, in alternation. Of eighteen remaining out of twenty, *i.e.* fourteen in the continuous arcade and four in the terminal lancet openings, nine are round with plain mouldings, and nine have a square abacus above plain scalloping or pointed leaves. The work is obviously connected

with the more elaborate capitals in the choir and presbytery, and may be by the same hands; but it is clearly later and shows a simplification of detail and the introduction of new influences on the edge of the thirteenth century.

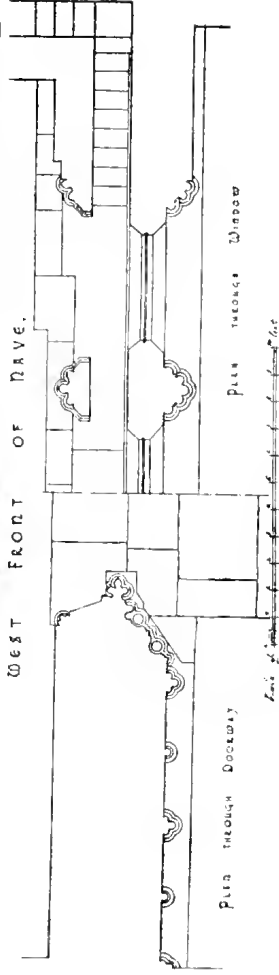
Beyond the western doorway the west building of the cloister ran at right angles to the church, in which, however, its north wall was included. Whether this was originally intended is uncertain, but it is unlikely that, in the first instance, more than the portion of the south wall already described was built. About 1240, however, the nave was finished. It was brought west so that its west front was in line with the west wall of the building just mentioned. As part of the same design a north aisle was added. The existence of the cloister on the south side, as at Brinkburn, Lanercost, Torre, and other houses of canons,¹ forbade the addition of a south aisle. The existing south wall, therefore, was heightened to the level of the wall-plate of the west range of the cloister. This addition is pierced with six tall pairs of lancets, each divided by a mullion and crossed halfway up by a transom, a very early example of the use of such a member. Each pair is set within an arch with two continuous chamfers, the spandrel in the crown of which is pierced by a quatrefoil with sharply-pointed ends. The wall is crowned with a late battlemented parapet, ornamented with large grotesque rain-water heads, above which rose pinnacles, now destroyed (plate xxx).

The internal north wall of the western range belongs to the discussion of the cloister buildings, and the incomplete west tower may be reserved until the nave has been fully described. The west front, framed within the tall east arch of the tower, is a composition of remarkable beauty which takes a high place among masterpieces of thirteenth-century art. The doorway has an equilateral pointed arch recessed in three orders with an elaborate grouping of roll-mouldings, plain and filleted, and a band of dog-tooth in the principal hollow of each order. The hood-moulding is also worked with dog-tooth. At the crown of the inner order is a boss carved with foliage. The shafting of the jambs is equally elaborate: the bands of dog-tooth are carried down the jambs, and the capitals of the shafts have a series of plain mouldings worked as a continuous band below the arch. The low bases stand upon a chamfered plinth. All the detail is small in scale and wrought with consistent minute-

¹ Hexham, Haughmond, Shap, and Newstead-in-Sherwood are other instances. At Newstead, however, it was intended to add a south aisle as well, and the beautiful west front was planned with this in view. The scheme, however, which would have involved disturbance of the cloister, was abandoned, and only the north aisle was completed. The nave at Repton was fully aisled about the same period. The single-aisle plan, though its most conspicuous examples occur in churches of canons, is occasionally found elsewhere, as in the Benedictine priory church at Abergavenny. A very full and painstaking survey of Augustinian church plans, in which the question of the single aisle is discussed, by the late Rev. J. F. Hodgson, will be found in *Archaeol. Journ.*, vols. xii, xliii. The expedients in the smaller churches of the order for adding to plans which started in unaisled cruciform churches, were very numerous, and led to much variety.



WEST FRONT OF NAVE.



PLAN THROUGH DOCKWAY

PLAN THROUGH WINDOW

PLAN OF THE CHURCH

V. NAVE: WEST FRONT.



ness. The outer mouldings of the arch are received on each side by a triple shaft on the wall-face, set on a ledge above the plinth. From this shaft also springs on either side a wall-arch enclosing two sub-arches divided by a shaft with moulded capital: in the spandrel between it and the sub-arches is a sunk quatrefoil. There are bands of dog-tooth in the hollow mouldings. There is a single narrower wall-arch, continuing the arcade on each side to the ends of the wall, but, owing to the addition of the tower, only part of this is visible.

Between the crown of the doorway arch and the string beneath the windows there is a horizontal panel, the width of the doorway, containing a deeply recessed vesica or pointed oval between two recesses with pointed arches, all with dog-tooth in the hollows. The string-course is lifted slightly to give room for the three pointed heads; but the lower point of the vesica in the middle is omitted, as the arch below interfered with its completion. The spandrels between this panel and the shoulders of the doorway are quite plain. On either side the space between the window string and the wall-arcading is filled by a wall-arcade of trefoil-headed recesses, originally five in number: owing to the intrusion of the tower walls only three and part of a fourth are now visible. These are deeply moulded, and are divided by shafts with moulded capitals and bases: there are bands of dog-tooth in arch and jambs (plate xxxii).

Above the string-course rise three tall pointed window-openings, occupying nearly the whole remaining height of the front, the middle one being slightly higher than those at the sides. The heads are rather bluntly pointed, and that on the south has an elliptical distortion. The sills are chamfered and stepped; the jambs are simply chamfered; but upon the wall-faces between, and at the sides of the windows, are clusters of five slender shafts, the shaft in the middle of each cluster being filleted, rising from small moulded bases on the string. Between the three middle and each of the lateral shafts is a band of dog-tooth; and each cluster has moulded bands round the middle and a little below the neck. From the capitals moulded arches with dog-tooth in the hollows are carried round the heads of the windows; and the hood-mouldings also have dog-tooth ornament (plate xxxi).

NAVE: INTERIOR (plates xxxiii-xxxvii, xlv).

On entering the nave through the doorway we see the end wall of the adjoining cloister building, broken only by an opening near the roof, intervening between the west front and the row of windows in the south wall of the church. On the left hand a large mass of wall extends for 7 ft. 6 in. from the west wall to the western respond of the north arcade, from the end of which a modern screen on a stone plinth crosses the church, forming a vestibule at the west end. The south part of the west wall, including the inner face of the doorway, is gathered in $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. at an angle in the masonry just south of the entrance. The inner jambs of the doorway are worked on a chamfer with triple rolls upon small bases: the arch, drop-shaped,

has three filleted rolls which spring without any division from the jambs. The windows above are set in the outer face of the wall, with a wall-passage behind at the sill level. The stonework between them on the inner side has shafted jambs rising to moulded arches. Instead of solid wall above the passage between the windows, the outer and inner planes of masonry are united by through-stones at intervals: the inner edges of the glass-plane of the windows are chamfered as on the outside, but there is no internal splay.

The nave, west front, and north arcade, as they stand to-day, are the result of one combined piece of planning. The south wall, as originally built, had been set out from the south side of the south-west crossing-pier, at the beginning of the west transept-wall. Whether anything had been begun upon the north side is uncertain: the north-west pier, to judge by its details, was the last of the four to be built, and was the one which subsequently underwent most alteration. At any rate, when the present nave was begun, its north wall was built against the west face of this pier, so that the longer axis of the nave is south of the centre of the west arch of the crossing. The spacing of the north arcade and clerestory above was dictated by the length of the south wall, including the additional piece belonging to the west range of the cloister. Four wide bays were therefore planned, corresponding to the wall next the cloister and to the eastern part of the included wall, and the solid piece of wall already mentioned was left at the west end, as there was no room for a fifth arch. The aisle, however, was carried west behind this wall, and its west front is in the same plane as the main west wall.

The north wall and arcade are very solidly built. The east respond has a large octagonal shaft with a tall chamfered cap, the abacus of which is continued along the chamfered edges of the wall on either side. This corresponds in detail with the blocked arch at the end of the north aisle, already mentioned in connexion with the north transept. The arches of the arcade have three chamfered orders and filleted hoods: the hood of the eastern arch has no fillet. Of the three piers that in the middle is circular with a plain moulded capital and a water-hollow in the base. The two others are octagonal, with bands of nail-head in the capitals and bases with hollows, but with some variation from the profile of the circular base. The west respond is composed of a series of recessed chamfered members, corresponding to the orders of the arches above, with capital to match (plate xxxiv).

The clerestory is composed of four lancet windows, each above the crown of the corresponding arch, with an unbroken edge-roll in arches and jambs. A string with a band of small dog-tooth is carried along the whole wall, rising above the windows as a hood-mould, and projecting round the capitals of the roof-shafts, which run vertically between the windows with a line of nail-head on each side, and finish upon moulded corbel-caps in the spandrels of the arcade, below the sill-string, which is curved to make room for them. The sill-string ceases before reaching the east end of the wall, which at this point shows some signs of inserted masonry, and

has been thickened, the added masonry being carried upon a thirteenth-century corbel with conventional foliage. It is possible that, when the north-west pier was remodelled, the lower part of the wall was strengthened with new stonework, and the east respond and the arch from the aisle to the transept were probably rebuilt more solidly at this time (plate xlvi).

The lower part of the south wall is continuous without any division, and is of roughly faced stonework, which, however, differs little in character from that in the north wall. Of the two doorways that on the east has internally a blunt drop-arch with a thick edge-roll, and an inner drop-arch without moulding. The outer arch is carried upon round shafts. The east shaft has a square abacus, the mouldings of which are continued in the capital, of which the lower part is carved with water-leaf ornament. The west shaft also has a square abacus, but the capital is covered with scalloping above a double neck-roll. The base of this shaft is hidden below the floor of the modern choir-stalls, but that of the east shaft has a pronounced vertical hollow. About 6 ft. 3 in. west of the doorway is a round-headed piscina with a filleted edge-roll and square drain sloping inwardly to the point of outlet: this is set in a square frame surrounded by a small bead and hollow. Between the doorway and piscina is part of a low bench with chamfered upper edge against the wall, now covered by the choir-seats. There is a similar bench on the opposite side, where it does not seem to be in its original position. The western doorway has two unmoulded drop-arches, between which the jambs are splayed internally (plate xxxv).

As already said, the upper part of the south wall, which is of regularly coursed ashlar, is pierced with six two-light windows, or pairs of lancets, with a quatrefoil pierced in the head of each. Like the west window, these are glazed near the outer surface of the wall, and have an internal wall-passage along the sills. This is carried through the dividing pieces of wall by square-headed openings, above which the windows are splayed. The edges of the window-arches have continuous roll-mouldings, like those of the clerestory: there is a similar upper string, and roof-shafts of the same design as those on the other side descend through the sill-string to the lower part of the wall along the wall-faces at the second and fourth intervals west of the crossing and at the west end of the row of windows, immediately opposite the roof-shafts of the north wall. The sill-string and the corbels of the southern shafts are, of course, at a much lower level, owing to the difference in elevation between the two sides; but otherwise the uniformity of design is obvious (plate xxxvi).

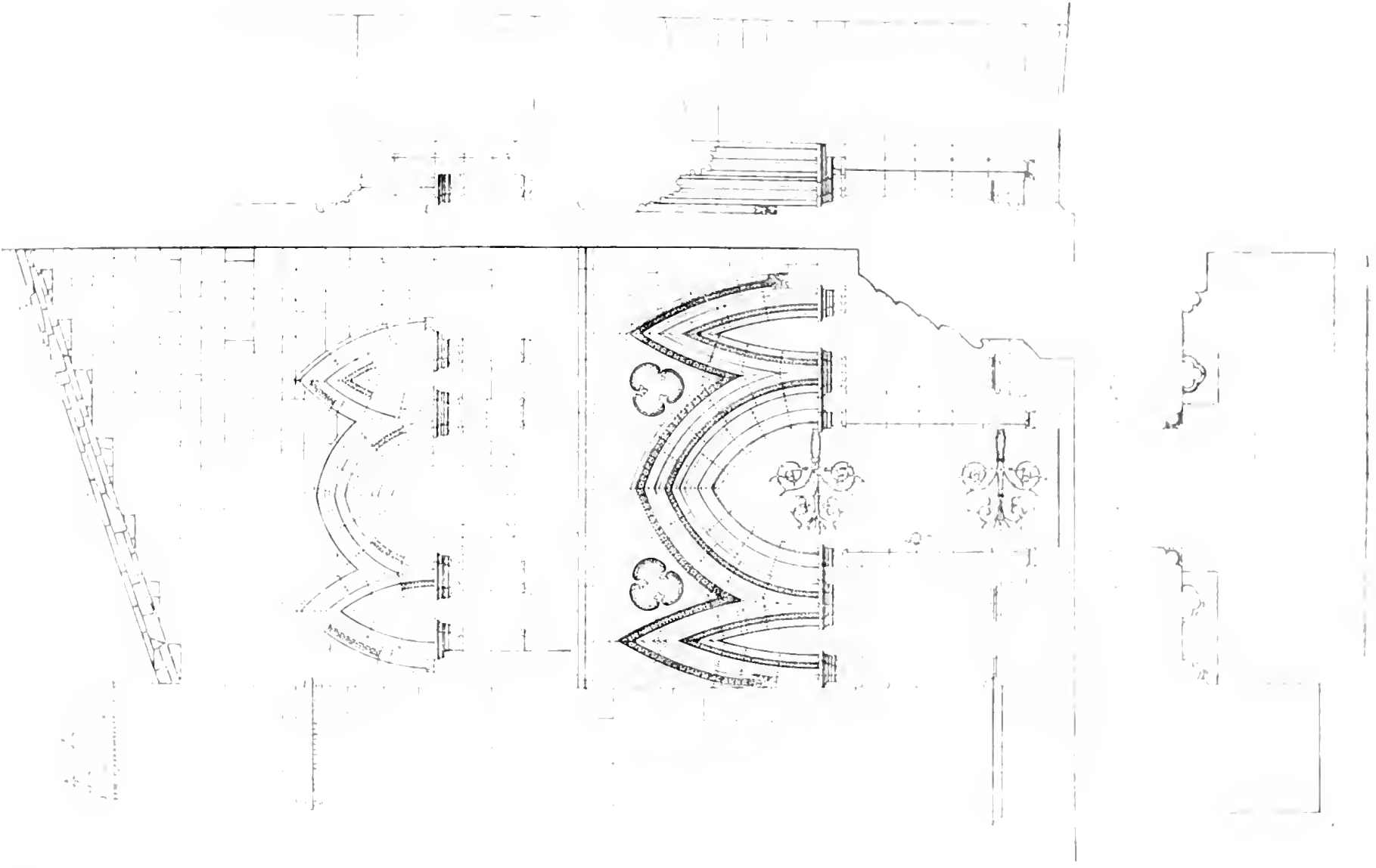
Immediately west of the western cloister doorway the angle of the wall common to the church and the adjoining building projects thirteen inches. This is the result of the addition of a coating of masonry to the east part of this wall, which was entirely refaced when the nave was built, the addition showing as a bulge on the surface of the stonework. The reason of this was probably to secure room for the very narrow stair by which the window-passage is continued through the thickness of the wall to the floor-level of a

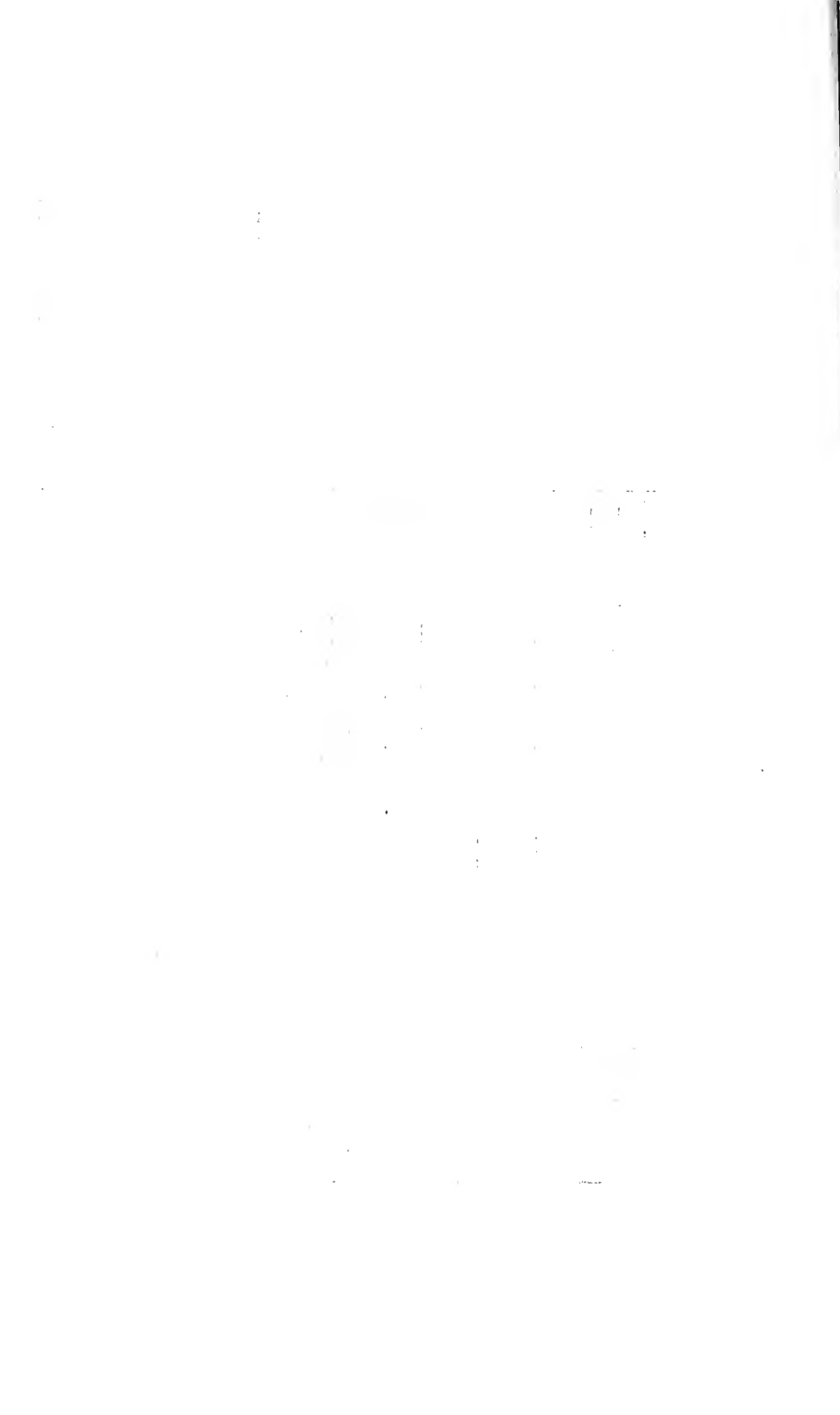
round-arched recess opening into the church near the roof, the shape of which has been somewhat distorted by the additional coating on its east side. The passage is continued through the west part of the wall and descends by a stair in the west wall to the sill of the west window. At present there is no stair from the floor to any part of this passage; nor does it appear why it should have been carried up and down in this fashion, especially as it is too narrow for any practical use in connexion with repairs. The reason also for the recess to which it is now the only access is not at all apparent: the masonry at the back is disturbed, and there may have been a door here. If so, it opened only from the space immediately below the roof of the western cloister range, and so would have served no obvious purpose but that of ventilation. This door was probably blocked when the roof was lowered. Otherwise, the wall, the rough-faced masonry of which is a mingling of re-used stones of *c.* 1200 with the larger stones of some forty years later, is broken only by an inserted corbel, which projects about half-way between the recess and the floor, for what purpose is not clear (plate xxxvii).

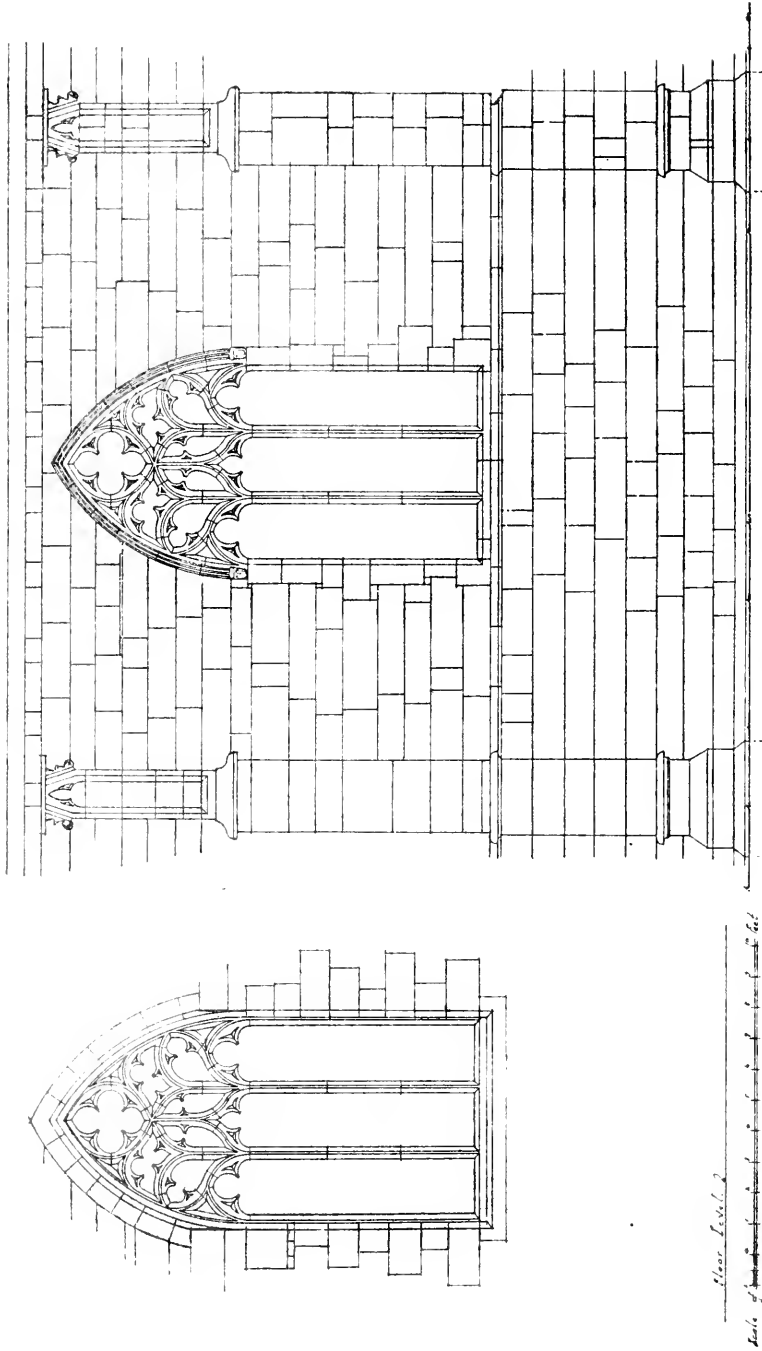
NORTH AISLE (plates xxxviii–xl).

It has been said that the north aisle was continued westward of the arcade to the line of the principal west front, from which it is divided by the intervening north wall of the tower. Its narrow west face was designed in harmony with that of the nave. The doorway has a sharply-pointed arch, recessed deeply with a suite of undercut roll and filleted roll-mouldings in two orders, with a band of dog-tooth in the hollow of the hood and again between the orders. As in the west doorway, a triplet of shafts upon a ledge is common to this opening, and to the very acute wall-arch adjoining it on either side. These arches, which recall similar arcading in Cistercian churches, as at Fountains and Rievaulx and in the west front of Byland, have bands of dog-tooth, and terminate at the north and south ends in coupled shafts with dog-tooth in the capitals. The other capitals of the composition have plain mouldings without dog-tooth. A string runs across the wall above the doorway, in the spandrels between which and the lateral arches are slightly sunken trefoils, that in the north spandrel being cramped and distorted, as though the carver had mistaken its proper adaptation to the space. Above the string is a chamfered lancet window within an arch with dog-tooth ornament in head and jambs and also in the hood. On each side of this is a small lancet in the wall, also ornamented with dog-tooth (plate xxxix).

At the north-west corner of this aisle is a massive square buttress with a moulding continued from the ledge beside the neighbouring doorway above a chamfered base-course, which is not continued upon the east side. Round the top of the buttress is a small string with dog-tooth, and above this is a low octagonal stage, round which runs a similar string. Part of an octagonal pinnacle, with triangular panels on the faces, remains above, and seems to be of later date. The whole thing, however, looks like a comparatively modern re-







VII. NORTH AISLE OF NAVE, EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR.

INTERIOR

EXTERIOR

construction of a thirteenth-century buttress. The corresponding northward angle-buttress has been broken away above the plinth.

Below the window-sills of the aisle the thirteenth-century wall remains, without a base-course. It is divided into four bays by buttresses with chamfered base-courses and two off-sets, ending in gabled heads, each of which has a trefoiled niche in its outer face. The string below the windows is of the thirteenth century, but the buttresses are fourteenth-century reconstructions. In each of the three eastern bays there is a three-light window with curvilinear tracery, very plain in detail and externally much renewed. In the west bay is an inserted doorway with two hollow chamfers and a projecting hood, to make room for which the thirteenth-century string is dropped on each side and continued on one side of a large stone of trapezoidal shape, the other side of which is carved as the lowest member of the hood. Above the doorway is a gabled niche, deeply recessed with a series of narrow hollow chamfers, with crockets and finial (plate xl).

Internally the wall of the aisle is faced entirely with fourteenth-century stone. The windows are splayed and have chamfered rere-arches and plain jambs, with slightly sloping sills. The doorway in the north wall has a plain pointed head beneath a segmental arch with a chamfer. It will be noticed that the spacing of the reconstructed aisle differs from that of the arcade between it and the nave, and that, while the easternmost of the windows is nearly in centre with the arch opposite, the two others and the doorway in the west bay are out of centre with the corresponding arches, and the buttresses are placed without regard to the piers. In setting out the north wall, no calculation was made for the solid piece of wall which intervenes between the end wall of the arcade and the west wall of the church; and, consequently, the four bays of the wall are spread out to include the entire length of the aisle, and the two western bays are slightly wider than the others.

The interior of the west front of the aisle is as plain as its exterior is elaborate. The doorway, which is slightly to the north of the centre of the wall, has an acutely-pointed head, and is gently splayed inwards to a plain segmental rere-arch. Above, in the middle of the wall, the small lancet has an inward splay.

The east end of the aisle is screened off as a vestry and organ-chamber. There is a thirteenth-century piscina in the north wall just east of the screen. The organ blocks the west side of the arch into the transept. Before the nineteenth-century restoration there was a doorway through the wall which filled this arch, with a window above; but at that date the arch was filled with a solid wall.

The exterior of the clerestory, above the aisle roof, is very plain, and the window-openings are simply chamfered; but there is a continuous string with a band of dog-tooth, which is carried over the windows as a hood. The original corbel-table remains beneath a fifteenth-century battlemented parapet with water-heads like those on the south side. The pinnacles, five in number, are much destroyed (plate xxxviii).

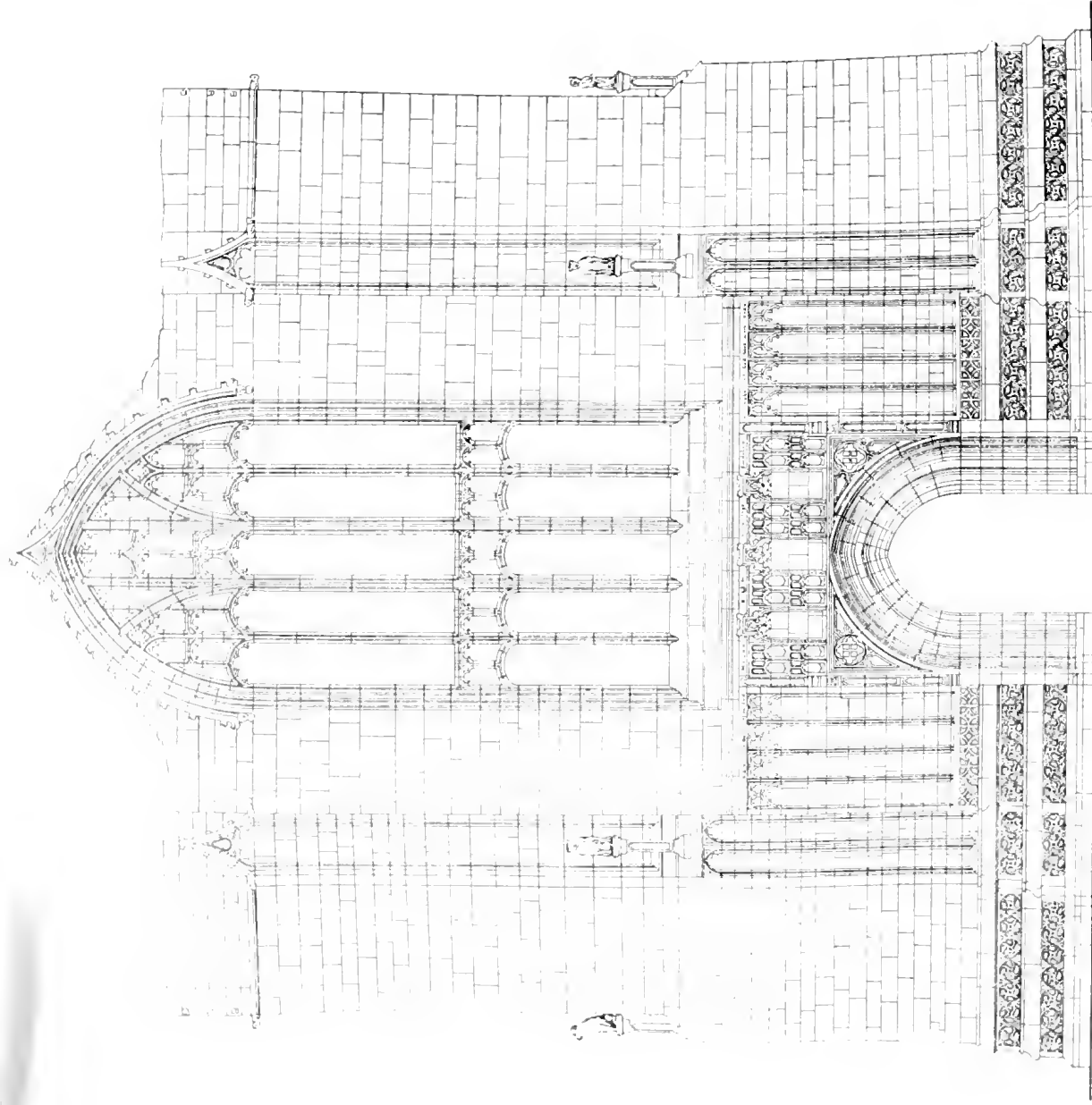
WEST TOWER (plates xli-xliv).

As the inscription above the west doorway records, a tower was begun at the west end of the church in 1520 by the last prior of Bolton, Richard Mone. Had this been completed it would have been joined up to the north and south walls, and the west front of the church would have been taken down. As it was it was raised only as high as the roof of the church before the suppression of the monastery, and its practical use has been to shield the old west wall from the weather.

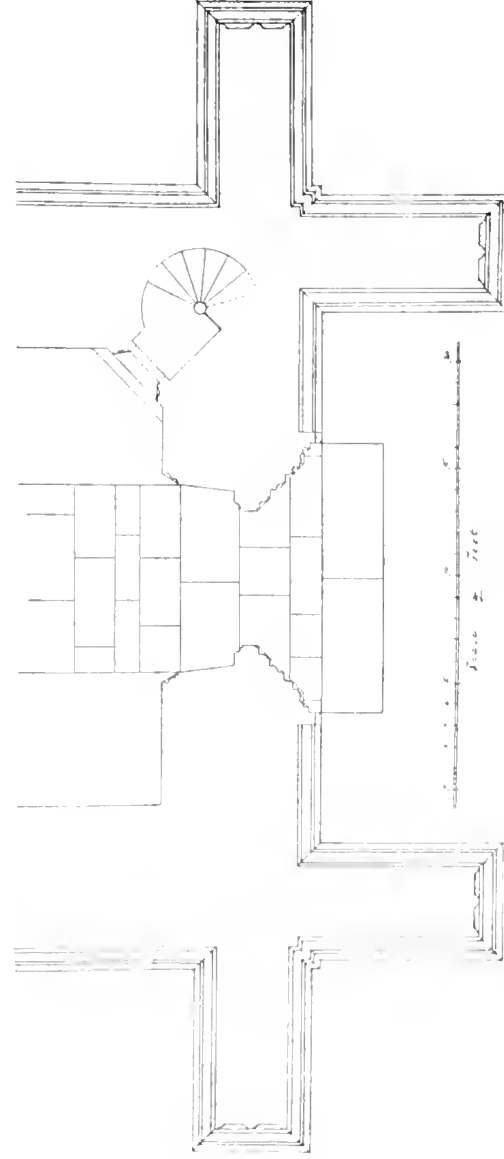
The incomplete tower is a magnificent mass of masonry, composed of long thin blocks of greenish-gray stone, laid horizontally and admirably dressed. At the west angles it has pairs of buttresses set perpendicular to one another, and projecting in their lower courses 8 ft. 6 in. from the wall, with faces three inches broad. The base-course is carried round them: this has two projecting members with bold ogee curves, and beneath each a band of square panels containing wheel-shaped circles in prominent relief. Above the base-course the north and south walls of the tower are quite plain. The outer faces of the buttresses have two tall panels with cinquefoil cusping, set side by side, for about half their height, where they are gathered in above curved off-sets, on which are set pedestals supporting large figures of heraldic beasts (plate xliii). The upper part of each buttress has a single cinquefoil-headed panel on the outer face, with a crocketed hood and finial, the hood being returned along the sides of the buttress. The east buttresses are similarly treated, but without the off-sets and figures of animals; and the south-east buttress is incomplete, as it is built into the west wall of the adjacent cloister building.

The west front is a beautiful example of late Gothic work at its best. A pointed doorway, with a continuous suite of mouldings in two orders, which are divided by an angle instead of by the usual casement hollow of the period, is set within a rectangular frame with small buttresses at the sides, the upper faces of which are carved with two trefoiled panels side by side. In the spandrels at the shoulders of the archway are two shields: one, now defaced, bore the arms of Clifford, the other has a cross, the arms of the priory. The space between the doorway and the string below the west window is filled by three canopied niches alternating with traceried panels containing blank shields in two rows, one above another. The niches have delicate ribbed vaulting, and the tops of the canopies are raised above the spring of their arches and finished off square in front of the window-string. On each side of this composition of doorway and niches, the wall-face is carved with four tall traceried panels above a row of six square panels, each containing a cusped square with concave sides set diamond-wise, with trefoil cusping in the spandrels at the angles (plate xliv).

In the hollow moulding of the window string, interrupted by the heads of the three canopies already mentioned, is this inscription in Gothic lettering: ✠ ✠ ✠ In the 3er of our Lord mvcxx



WEST FRONT OF TOWER



VIII. TOWER: WEST FACE.

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R — begann thys fondacyon on qwbo sowl god have marse amen. Above this is a large five-light window with good Perpendicular tracery and a battlemented transom. The arch and jambs have ogee mouldings and beads with two broad casements: the mullions are faced with small filleted beads. The window has an ogee crocketed hood with a trefoil in the spandrel above the window-arch.

The whole east face of the tower is occupied by a very tall pointed arch with ogee mouldings divided by casements, rising from piers with fluted shafting, large moulded capitals somewhat low for the scale of the piers, and tall moulded bases upon double chamfered plinths (plate xxxi). At the back of the arch the toothing is left for the proposed junction with the nave walls.

Although it cannot be regretted that the stoppage in the work of the tower prevented the inevitable destruction of the old west front, the tower itself is one of the noblest designs of its age, and, had it been completed, would have had few parallels in England. In beauty of masonry it surpasses the contemporary tower at Fountains Abbey, and is comparable only to the best of the Somerset towers, or to the beautiful tower of Great Ponton, in Lincolnshire, which was begun in the previous year. In spite of the somewhat miscellaneous effect of the architecture of Bolton priory church as a whole, it contains in the west front of the nave, in the fourteenth-century work in the eastern arm, and in the tower, three features which, for their respective periods, are absolutely of the first class; while the capitals of the wall-arcading and the row of windows in the south wall of the nave are details which no student of twelfth- and thirteenth-century architecture can neglect.

The church contains some carved fragments of stone from various parts of the buildings. Against the north-west crossing-pier is a stone shaft with chamfered edges which seems to have formed part of a cross. Upon this is placed a large stone with the edges carved with four-leaved flowers in a hollow moulding, which evidently formed the base of a canopied niche for an image; and this now carries a thirteenth-century vaulting boss, with an Agnus Dei within a twisted wreath, which was found many years ago among the *débris* of the east building of the cloister. Another boss from the same quarter, carved with foliage and the figure of a monster, was found during the recent excavations, and is preserved at the west end of the church (plate l). In the north aisle are two large fragments of grave-stones and an altar-slab, one end of which has been broken off. There are two consecration crosses at the other end: the slab was used to cover a tomb at a later period, and a brass plate inserted in it, which has been removed, leaving a hollow space in the middle. A very large number of tiles were found during the excavations in various parts of the buildings, mixed with the rubbish which covered their interior. Only in two places, however, in the south transept and the south-west corner of the cloister, were any found in their original position, and only a few were glazed with patterns. These, of the early part of the fourteenth century, are now stored in the church (plate xlv).

NAVE: RITUAL ARRANGEMENTS (plate xxxiii).

The ritual arrangements of the nave remain to be noticed. The present raised chancel within dwarf walls, with ambones for pulpit and reading-desk at the west corners, forms part of the restoration by the late G. E. Street. He also built the present wall at the east end, which took the place of an older wall with a window high up in the arch. The wall, for two-thirds of its height, is covered with tall panelling in nine compartments, painted with representations of lilies, ears of corn, vines, and other symbolical plants, below which are medallions with sacred monograms and emblems upon a diapered ground. Originally, as has been said more than once, the choir occupied the crossing, and the choir-screen was probably across the western arch. The position of the piscina in the south wall indicates that the rood-screen, the second screen usual in monastic churches, crossed the church west of the eastern cloister doorway, which thus opened into the space between the two screens. When, in the fourteenth century, the choir was removed east of the crossing, a new stone choir-screen was made across the east arch, and the rood-screen was moved eastwards into the arch previously occupied by the choir-screen, where the deep cuts made for the cross-beam which formed the floor of its loft are conspicuous features in the piers. Of the earlier rood-screen there is no trace in the south wall, but the piscina is placed so far west that its existence can hardly be doubted; and the position of the piscina on the opposite side of the church suggests that the screen was continued to the aisle wall, with an altar in the aisle against its west side.

The position of the choir and screens before the fourteenth century involved some awkwardness in the arrangement of the Sunday procession, which, after visiting the eastern altars of the church, went round the cloister, returning into the nave through the western doorway in the south wall. The procession left the choir through the upper entry on the north side, visited the altars in the north transept, and proceeded thence to the south transept, crossing the east end of the choir through the arches which formed its upper doorways. As there was no aisle to the nave on this side, and the choir-stalls blocked the sides of the crossing, the only way to the cloister was to return through the south arch east of the crossing and proceed down the choir and through the screen to the eastern doorway in the nave wall. For this reason, here and in other churches,¹ a doorway was made in the west wall of the south transept, which gave direct access to the cloister and made the circuitous route unnecessary. This doorway, as we have seen, was not made until about 1290, and was preserved when the transept was rebuilt (plates xxviii, xxix). By that time the choir had been removed eastward, and this doorway became the normal way for the canons into the church, the older doorway being probably disused. The door-

¹ As at Brinkburn and Lanercost. The doorway at Bristol is in the same position, though the reason here is not so obvious, unless the early nave had already fallen into disuse.

way from the west walk of the cloister, of course, was the natural way by which the procession at all times returned to church, and was therefore always in use.

There is a deep notch in the north part of the base of the eastern pier in the nave, which marks the position of the later screen of the chapel in the north aisle; and in the west face of the same pier and the east face of the next there are marks of holes which indicate a parclose screen, though they may possibly be due to the insertion of high pews.

THE CLOISTER (plates xlii, xlvii, xlviii, liv).

The level of the cloister is lower than that of the floor of the church, and steps led down into it from all three doorways. It formed approximately a square of about 65 ft. each way; but, owing to the eastward cant of the south transept, which is continued in the eastern range of buildings, the shape is irregular. The open space in the middle was surrounded by the usual walks, 8 ft. wide, covered by lean-to roofs with a steep slope, the corbels for which remain below the sill-strings of the north and east walls. Nothing of the outer walls of the alleys is left but foundations, with an approximate width of 4 ft., and of the character of their superstructure nothing is known.¹ At the north-east corner, and for some feet on either side of it, the foundations are wanting.² Although considerable remains of the buildings on the east, south, and west sides survive, all have been ruined to within a few feet of the ground-level, and in many places to the foundations.

The north walk, in front of the south wall of the nave, was probably here, as in other monasteries, the habitual sitting-place of the canons in cloister, at any rate of those who occupied their time in reading and writing, and needed light and warmth. The bench, wall-arcade, and doorways have already been described in connexion with the church. A description has also been given of the west wall of the south transept, which covered most of the east side of the cloister. Shortly after the beginning of the excavations part of a cobbled floor was uncovered above the site of the east walk, which belonged to a large cattle-shed, built against this wall at some unknown date, and removed many years ago. The marks of the stalls, as already noted, remain in the wall. This floor extended some distance into the cloister, and crossed the foundation of the outer east wall, which appeared when the cobbles were removed.

¹ Two through-stones, with a pair of small capitals worked on their lower sides, which resemble similar remains found at Kirkstall and other monasteries, exist among the numerous fragments of carved masonry: one of these is at present with other fragments near the doorway of the Hall, while the other is in the heap of stones at the south-east angle of the transept. These evidently belonged to the arcade of the late twelfth-century cloister walls, the arched openings of which were thus divided by coupled shafts after the usual fashion of the period.

² The south-west angle of the cloister wall is very thick, and the stonework is ashlar, with the outer surface curved hollow, as if there had been a well here.

EAST RANGE OF CLOISTER: PARLOUR AND
CHAPTER-HOUSE (plates xlvihi-1, lii).

At Bolton the church wall occupied so much of the east side of a somewhat confined cloister that the east range of buildings was almost entirely outside the actual limits of the cloister. This produced certain unique peculiarities of arrangement. How far these form part of the original plan is uncertain. There is no doubt that the east range underwent much later reconstruction, and the arrangement, in its present state, is not earlier than the fourteenth century. It might be explained by a possible southward extension of the transept at this date, which would have involved complete alteration; but, as already said, no signs of any such extension are left. Instead of the usual succession of doorways by which the chapter-house and other parts of the ground-floor of such a range are directly accessible from the cloister walk between the transept and the south-east angle, there are here only a large and a small doorway side by side. Immediately south of the transept is an arch with a pointed barrel vault, at the entrance to a passage leading eastwards (plates xlvihi, lii). This arch, the crown of which is higher than the former level of the floor above, is of uncertain date, and was built to support the buttress in which the west wall of the transept terminates.¹ In front of it, however, are the remains of an arch 7 ft. wide, the north jamb of which has a small engaged shaft with a foliated capital, and an outer shaft with remains of a capital and a base with a hollow moulding. The chamfered plinth was continued as the threshold of the entry, and remains in part on the south side, together with a portion of the base of the outer shaft. The work appears to be contemporary with the doorway from the south transept into the cloister, *i.e.* about 1290. A small part of the arch, with a hollow chamfer, remains above the springing on the north side.

Beyond the arch, which was built up at the back of this, are the remains of a room or passage, 8 ft. wide, adjoining the south wall of the transept. At this point the transept wall has been so destroyed that it is difficult to make out; but the lowest courses of a thirteenth-century wall remain along part of the north side of the passage, to which what is left of the opposite wall is parallel. Both walls, however, were built across foundations of an older building, running obliquely from north-west to south-east, and the passage is crossed at what was apparently its original termination by a thick foundation, 6 ft. 3 in. wide, also running obliquely, not only to the passage, but to the other foundations as well. Beyond this the passage is continued beyond the line of the east wall of the adjoining range as a vestibule to the chapter-house.

¹ There is a possibility that it may be comparatively modern, though built of old material. On the other hand, the height appears to be that required for the passage leading to the later chapter-house, and there is no positive reason for supposing that it did not form part of the general fourteenth-century reconstruction of this part of the cloister.

The difficulties connected with this passage cannot be entirely solved. It should be noted, however, in the first place, that no part of the remaining cloister buildings can be much earlier than the thirteenth century, and that the south wall of the nave, which was planned for a cloister, is not earlier than 1190-1200. The present buildings were probably in progress before 1200. How the canons were housed before that date is not clear; but it is possible that they may have utilised older buildings on the site until the building of a regular cloister became practicable. We have seen that part of their earliest church is incorporated in the later building, and that there are reasons for believing that it extended into the present crossing. If they began a cloister in connexion with this, no trace of it remains; but, during the interval occupied with the enlargement of their church, they may well have lodged themselves in existing buildings close by, the site of which was subsequently encroached upon by the south transept.¹ In the second place, when the east range of the cloister was remodelled in the fourteenth century, its west wall was recessed a few feet behind that of the adjoining transept. The arch built beneath part of the fourteenth-century buttress actually fills the space between the cloister walk and the line of the west wall, and the mutilated arch of 1290 was the entrance of a vestibule to the passage beyond. This passage, therefore, belonging to the early thirteenth-century building, was entered through a porch or vestibule, and its construction removed the vestiges of earlier buildings on the site above the foundations.²

The relation of this passage to the earlier chapter-house will be discussed presently. It now leads to the site of the second chapter-house, which was a building of the fourteenth century, some distance beyond the eastern range. It may be noted here, however, that the south wall of the passage is not bonded into the wall at its west end, and is obviously an insertion; so that the original purpose of the passage as a *locutorium* or parlour, which was also a way to the churchyard, is doubtful.³ If there were any evidence

¹ It should be remarked, however, (1) that the actual transference of the whole convent from Embsay to Bolton may well have been deferred until building operations were somewhat advanced; and (2) that the earliest part of the cloister buildings to be completed was the west range, and this may have been used by the convent as their first dwelling, pending the completion of the rest of the work, as seems to have been the case at Kirkstall.

² That there were such earlier buildings cannot be questioned, in view of the plain evidence of the foundations. I assume, however, that they were already in existence when the canons arrived and were left standing only as long as it was necessary. It should be remembered also that the provision of buildings for a monastery was a gradual process, and may in some cases have extended over a long period, and that in the meantime temporary accommodation was desirable for the members of the convent. There is definite evidence for a temporary building at Meaux (*Chron. de Melsa* [Rolls Ser.] i, 82).

³ Such passages were normally between the church and chapter-house, but their position varies. In Augustinian houses they occur next the church or an intervening vestry at Brinkburn (probably), Hexham (beneath the gallery in the south transept), Kirkham, Lilleshall, Llanthony, Newark, Newstead, Christ Church, Oxford, St. Andrews, and St. Bartholomew's,

that the adjoining transept was extended southwards in the fourteenth century, the disappearance of the parlour would be accounted for, as well as the construction of a church-yard passage further south in the range.¹ The eastward extension of the passage is of one build with the second chapter-house, and the base of a vaulting-shaft at the east end of the ledge on its north side is identical in design with the bases of the chapter-house wall-shafts.

The chapter-house was an octagonal building, measuring internally 29 feet each way. Foundations and parts of the wall of six sides remain, together with the threshold and part of the adjoining wall to the north (plate xlix, 2). There are foundations of five of the buttresses, projecting 5 ft. 4 in. and measuring 3 ft. 8 in. across the outer face. The south-east buttress is gone, and the north-west angle adjoined the south-east angle of the transept and is met there by a large octagonal buttress. It was surrounded by a stone bench carved with a series of small quatrefoiled panels, above which was a broad projecting ledge. On this stood small bases carrying the shafts of the wall-arcade. Two of these remain on the north-west side, where the bench is perfect, together with the triple base in the adjacent angle. The arcade divided the bench in each of the seven compartments into five seats, thirty-five in all, in addition to which there was a seat on each side of the doorway in the remaining compartment. The massiveness of the buttresses suggests that the building was vaulted: no trace of a central pier has been found, and the vaulting probably terminated, like that of the chapter-house at Southwell, in a central boss. The remains indicate that the building formed an integral part of the fourteenth-century additions to the church. The doorway which now is inserted in the masonry blocking the east arch of the gatehouse, now included in the Hall,

Smithfield. At Haughmond, Lanercost (probably), Mottisfont, and Repton, they were between the chapter-house and the sub-vault of the dorter. In Premonstratensian houses the parlour was more usually in the latter position, *e.g.* at Bayham, Bradsole, Cockersand, Dale, Leiston, and West Langdon. At Shap it was a passage at one end of the dorter sub-vault. At Alnwick and Titchfield, on the other hand, it was between the church and chapter-house. In some of the larger Benedictine houses, *e.g.* Durham, Gloucester, and Worcester, it was next the church, and at Whitby it passed beneath the end of the transept. In Cistercian practice the space between church and chapter-house was habitually divided into a sacristy and book-room, and the parlour was on the other side of the chapter-house: but it was only in this order that its position was fixed by custom, and elsewhere its position was either arbitrary or dictated by some convenience of site.

¹ It should be remarked, however, that the southward enlargement of the south transept is a mere possibility, of which no proof has been discovered: it is suggested, as shown already, by the unusual space occupied by the transept on the east side of the cloister, and by the alterations made in the east range during the fourteenth century. If the transept was always of its present length, it is quite probable that the north part of the old chapter-house was always cut off from the rest by a partition, and was the parlour or churchyard passage, for which necessary arrangement no place can be found in the range until after the building of the new chapter-house. At Newstead the parlour was of one build with the chapter-house and was partitioned off from it in the way suggested here.

was almost certainly removed there from the chapter-house, and its measurements correspond exactly to those of the threshold (plate lviii). Its date is not earlier than 1370, and we must conclude that the chapter-house was not completed until some time after the adjoining transept had been finished.

The choice for the peculiar site of the chapter-house, partly at the back of the transept wall and actually touching its angle, was no doubt dictated by the rapid slope in the ground behind the eastern range, which made it necessary to find room for this large building nearer the church.

EAST RANGE: GROUND-FLOOR (plates li, lii).

We now return to the cloister. Between the entry to the passage and the south-east angle of the cloister are the foot and threshold of a small doorway, with chamfered jambs and a rebate at the back, opening into a narrow room 5 ft. 10 in. east to west by 9 ft. 6 in. north to south. This was built in front of the west wall of the range, which at this point is of two dates. A small portion, to the north of a straight joint in the masonry, which is clearly visible on the inner face, is earlier than the rest, which, with the narrow room in front, is of the fourteenth century. At the south end of this room was another doorway, opening inwards, which led into a lobby, of the same width as the narrow room from east to west, and 5 ft. from north to south. In each wall of the lobby was a doorway. One opened inwards on the west from a passage in the south range. In the north wall a doorway opened on to the dorter stair; and another on the east gave access to a room in the ground-floor of the range, which, there is reason to believe, was the south part of the earlier chapter-house. Each of the doorways is 4 ft. wide, and their chamfered jambs and rebating are similar to those of the doorway of the room between the west wall and cloister. The number of doorways in so small a space is remarkable, and the planning, if somewhat unnecessarily complicated, is ingenious.

The ground-floor of the east range, above which was the dorter or dormitory, consists, south of the chapter-house passage, of two sections. The first, vaulted in two divisions, with columns down the middle, measures internally, 60 ft. north to south by 21 ft. 6 in. east to west, and was originally built in the thirteenth century. The second is a fourteenth-century extension of this building at a lower level, measuring 44 ft. 6 in. north to south by 18 ft. 9 in. from east to west, and forming a single chamber vaulted in one span. At the present time the northern and earlier section shows no signs of original partition; but the foundations of two thin parallel walls extend across its north end from the doorway in the lobby already mentioned, with a passage, 7 ft. 6 in. wide, between them. This probably led to a doorway in the east wall, the foundations of which at this point and for some feet south of it are also very thin. It can hardly be doubted that these walls were later insertions: there is no trace of any bond in the west wall, and the northern of the two shut off a small chamber between it and the wall of the chapter-house

passage. The east wall seems also to have been rebuilt when these partitions were inserted, and the passage meets it exactly in the middle of a length of thin foundation, south of which the wall thickens considerably.

The inference is that the doorway in the west wall opened into a room, 21 ft. 6 in. square, which was subsequently partitioned into three narrow divisions, that in the middle being a passage through the range. No foundation of the south wall of this room has been discovered, or of the columns in the middle which must have supported its vaulting: in any case, however, the south wall was probably only a light partition. We have seen that an entirely new chapter-house was built during the fourteenth century. Where, then, was its predecessor? There are no traces of it on the fourteenth-century site, and the passage which leads to that site cannot have been used as a chapter-house, for which its narrow dimensions are obviously unsuited. The ordinary position for the chapter-house was in the eastern range, very often with an eastward projection beyond it, as at Haughmond and Hexham, or in important monasteries, as at Bristol, at the back of the range, with a western vestibule beneath the floor of the dormer. At Newstead and in the house of Augustinian nuns at Lacock, it was entirely within the east range. A room, 21 ft. 6 in. square, was of very small dimensions for this purpose: the chapter-house at Newstead, a house of much the same size as Bolton, measures 24 ft. square, and is divided into six vaulting compartments by two piers. But, as has been said, the position of the south wall at Bolton is conjectural. On the other hand, it has also been noted that the north part of the west wall of this room is of earlier date than the rest, and, further, it continues behind the end of the wall which divides it from the chapter-house passage, and is not bonded into it. It is therefore clear that the passage in question has been cut off from the former room of which it formed part, and that the earlier chapter-house, wherever its south wall may have been, extended northward as far as the present wall of the south transept, although possibly the north part may have been always partitioned off. There is no trace of its original doorway; but it may be conjectured that the doorway of *c.* 1290, by which the present chapter-house passage is entered, formerly stood further south, and superseded the first entrance to the old chapter-house.

The two vaulting-bosses which have been found on this site, and are preserved, as has been said, in the church, indicate that the old chapter-house was not without architectural beauty (plate 1). It is clear, however, that the reconstruction of the south transept included the provision of a new chapter-house and the abandonment of the old. At this time, wherever the former passage to the churchyard had been, it was found necessary to provide a new one. This was made by a partition of the old chapter-house, the east wall of which was rebuilt with a doorway in it. The north part thus became a small room, which was probably used for keeping books, while the south part, by the removal of the intermediate wall, was thrown

into the large room on that side. If the old chapter-house was vaulted from a single column in the middle, this must have been removed, which would have involved some alteration in the method of vaulting: the foundations of the partition walls show no traces of columns on or near their line, such as we should have expected had the vaulting been in six compartments.

These alterations were accompanied by the rebuilding of the west wall of the dormer range, south of the straight joint already noted. It was now that the narrow room, little more than a lobby, was added at the south-east corner of the cloister area, giving access to the churchyard passage and day-stair of the dormitory. Whether the room had any other use cannot be definitely decided; but it may have been the library of the house.¹ But early book-rooms in monasteries of any order but the Cistercian are extremely uncommon, and, if the little room at Bolton may be conjectured to have served this use, it was also a through-passage whose miniature dimensions would have been encumbered by book-presses. The north part of the disused chapter-house, when the time came, would have been much better adapted for this purpose. The canons of Bolton, however, to judge by the cramped planning of the approaches to the chapter-house and dormer stair, moved easily in confined spaces.

This room or passage led to a very diminutive lobby at the foot of the day-stair to the dormitory, which, with its doorways, has been described. On the east, as has been said, was the doorway to the new parlour or passage to the churchyard, and on the west another doorway opened into the space between the east and south ranges of the cloister. All the doorways had chamfered jambs, rebated on the inner side; and the whole work forms part of the fourteenth-century rebuilding.

The rest of the ground-floor of the east building, or most of it, as regards its earlier part, was the common-room or *calefactorium* (warming-house) of the monastery, which, in canons' houses as in those of Benedictine monks, occupied this position. Large portions of the east and west walls and their foundations have been entirely removed, and with them all signs of the fireplace which gave the building its Latin name. The outer face of the west wall, for some distance from the old chapter-house, is covered by the day-stair to the dormer, which mounted against it from north to south, and, like the adjoining work, is of the fourteenth century. On the west side of the stair runs the passage between the east and south ranges, with

¹ Small rooms, which are little more than good-sized cupboards, used for this purpose, occur in twelfth-century buildings in Cistercian monasteries between the church and chapter-house, and the curious building against the west face of the south transept in the Cluniac house at Wenlock is said, without much probability, to have been a library. As a rule, when such rooms, as at Fountains, were converted into passages, the books were removed elsewhere: at Fountains, they were placed in compartments screened off at the west end of the chapter-house, and the beautiful recess in the thickness of the wall north of the chapter-house doorway at Valle Crucis was doubtless used for the same purpose.

a doorway at its south end, which opened into a yard or court. The masonry at the south end of the stair and wall is ashlar, and there seems to have been a doorway here, below the dorter landing, leading into the common-room from the court: there is no rebate, but a hole for a door-hinge. At this point the west wall of the common-room ceases; but a fragment remains close to the south-west corner of the building, containing the chamfered north jamb of another doorway with an inner rebate, hinge-hole, and wide inward splay. This indicates that there was a room or passage partitioned off from the common-room at its south end. It is clear that this doorway was skewed in the south-west corner of the range, where the rebuilt fourteenth-century wall met the earlier south wall of the range.

At present the floor of the common-room slopes southward; but originally the level must have been uniform, and the drain which flushed the rere-dorter ran beneath its south end. A base with a water-moulding and part of the octagonal shaft of one of the columns which divided the room into two parallel sets of vaulting compartments are still in position. A large number of chamfered voussoirs, belonging to the vaulting-ribs, were discovered during the excavations on the site of the old chapter-house and common-room. All this work is of the thirteenth century, and was retained when the west wall was rebuilt.

The east part of the plinth of the south wall, with two chamfered courses, has been uncovered, together with the plinth of the south-east buttress, over which the east wall of the fourteenth-century extension was continued. East of this the plinth is recessed about 2 ft., and is continued along the south wall of the rere-dorter and round two buttresses (plate xlix, 1).

RERE-DORTER.

The rere-dorter stood at right-angles to the east range, projecting from its south-east end. The west part of this building upon the ground-floor appears to have been an undivided space, 15 ft. from east to west by 16 ft. north to south. East of this it was divided by a wall into a narrow passage on the north, 28 ft. 8 in. long by 3 ft. 6 in. wide, and a wider section on the south, through which the shoots of the latrines upon the upper floor descended to the drain, 9 ft. 9 in. wide. The springers of the two eastern arches which crossed the drain can be seen in the masonry of the dividing wall. The east part of the south wall has disappeared, but the plinth and the bases of two buttresses remain; the plinth of the outer north wall and of three rectangular buttresses, not opposite those on the south, is left. The lower part of a fourth buttress, built up plain from a lower level, exists close to the point at which the north wall was returned to the intermediate wall at the end of the building. Another plain buttress projects from the return wall, somewhat to the north of centre: as the ground fell here to the level of the drain, the masonry required additional support. The north and south walls are obviously of different dates, the north

wall being the earlier. It is clear that the south wall was rebuilt in the thirteenth century: the building was then probably widened, and the passage between the north and intermediate walls became merely an empty space, the only practical use of which was that it carried the upper passage from which the latrines were entered. A modern drain is carried below the soil, following the line of the old open drain.

EAST RANGE: SOUTH EXTENSION (plate li).

In the fourteenth century the east range was lengthened southward. This extension appears to have been constructed as a separate lodging, possibly for the prior, whose earlier lodging and hall were in the west cloister range.¹ The walls of the substructure remain to a considerable height, and the west wall is in excellent condition. When this addition was made the south wall of the dorter range was removed, and a wall built in its place, which, as has been said, was carried across the buttress at the south-east angle of the range and covered the junction of the former wall with the south wall of the rere-dorter building. The western part of the old wall appears to have been entirely removed to make room for the new one (plate li, 1).

The east wall of the new building is partially destroyed. Close to the north end there remains the lower part of a large buttress with a chamfered plinth. South of this the plinth is plain. After a break in the wall the chamfered plinth reappears, and is continued to a buttress at the south-east angle. If this buttress was one of a pair at right-angles to each other, the second has gone. Close to this angle, in the thickness of the south wall, there was a small doorway with chamfered jambs and with its southward face rebated for a door, which communicated with a lobby. This was apparently a porch with an outer doorway, the position of which is now uncertain (plate li, 2). West of this the base-course of the south wall of the extension is raised, and beneath is the outlet of a drain, 2 ft. 3 in. wide, now stopped. The west end of this wall was built over the wall of an earlier building with a chamfered plinth. This continues southward for a little way, but its purpose is uncertain, and it may have been merely a retaining wall built against the bank behind, which had been cut away by the levelling of the site of the new building. At this point there are traces of a newel stair, which may have led to a garderobe on the upper floor.

The west wall, as has been said, is remarkably perfect and of excellent masonry. Near its north end is a steep flight of four steps, by which the undercroft of the building was entered from the higher ground. The opening through which they descend is splayed inwards. The bases of the doorway jambs remain at the top of the stairs. The room entered by these stairs was vaulted in one span in oblong bays, with ribs of very slight curve. Portions of chamfered ribs remain, and a sculptured keystone with the ends of the adjoining ribs worked in one piece with it. There are no traces of vaulting-shafts against the walls, from which the ribs probably sprang directly.

¹ See p. 97 above.

At the north end of this cellar there is the foundation of a cross-wall running from east to west, with a narrow space between it and the north wall of the building, with which it is not parallel. There is no obvious explanation of this feature, unless it belonged to some earlier building on the site, which was removed when the dorter range was extended. The narrow passage between it and the north wall can have served no practical purpose, and there is no clear indication of any entry to it. It is possible, however, that the space between the two walls on the upper level may have been used for keeping tools.

DORTER (plates lii, liii).

The upper part of this extension of the dorter range has entirely gone with the exception of a large part of the west wall. This however, has been entirely stripped of ashlar upon the inner face. The floor above the vault of the cellar must have been slightly higher than that of the adjoining lower storey of the eastern range; and, although the end wall of the former dorter range, as already stated, was rebuilt, there is nothing to show how the upper storey of the new building was entered.

Of the dorter such traces as are left are very slight, and are confined to the remains of the day-stair from the cloister and a fragment of the entrance by which the dorter communicated with the church. The day-stair, as already mentioned, mounted southward against the west wall of the range, and was entered from the lobby west of the old chapter-house. The lowest step remains, and is chamfered inwards on the west side to make room for an inward-opening leaf of a folding door. The masonry of the stair is about 6 ft. high, but only the west face retains its ashlar, and the upper stairs are gone.

At the north end of the dorter, in the angle between the transept wall and the tall buttress next the cloister, was a vaulted vestibule or lobby which led from the dorter to the top of the night-stair into the church. The west springers and north and west arches of the vault remain: the springers have chamfered ribs. The head and part of the west jamb of the doorway to the stair are left, and have been preserved by the modern masonry which at this point has been built up to support the hanging remains of the end wall of the transept, with which the lobby and doorway are contemporary.

The probable arrangement of the upper storey of the rere-dorter has been described. The entrance must have been in the east wall of the dorter, close to the south-east angle. If the dorter itself was extended southward in the fourteenth century, it can hardly have been due to any large increase in the numbers of the convent; but more room for the cubicles which were then coming into fashion would have been obtained. The extension, however, as already noted, possibly formed a new lodging for the prior.

SOUTH RANGE: FRATER AND UNDERCROFT.

At the east end of the south range of cloister buildings there was a passage which led through the range and gave access from the

cloister to the buildings beyond. At the south end there are remains of the doorway, with chamfered jambs and inner rebate. This is of the fourteenth century. Owing to the fact that the main axis of the south range is not perpendicular to that of the east range, the passage is 5 ft. wide next the cloister and $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide at the south end. It communicated on the east with the lobby of the chapter-house and the dorter stair, and on the west with a room, which formed part of the frater building. Originally the passage had a doorway from the cloister; but this was blocked in the fifteenth century, and a doorway was inserted in the north wall of the adjoining room, with a step and with a rebate on the inner side. This room was about 8 ft. wide, and a doorway in its west wall communicated with the undercroft of the refectory or frater.

The south range was built soon after the west range, and at right-angles to it, early in the thirteenth century, its direction, as already noticed, being wholly uninfluenced by the slanting axis of the east range, which was caused by the slant of the adjoining transept. The frater, which occupied the upper floor, was above an undercroft or cellar, measuring internally 52 ft. from east to west by 25 ft. 6 in. north to south. Only the lower courses of the walls remain. On the south side there is, at the south-east angle of the building, *i.e.* of the passage-room east of the undercroft, the foot of a large buttress, with a projection of 11 in. and a surface width of 3 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. This has a chamfered plinth, which was continued along the wall and buttresses. At the south-east end of the undercroft a block of masonry, $12\frac{3}{4}$ ft. east to west, with a projection of 2 ft., marks the position of the refectory pulpit. West of this the feet of five rectangular buttresses are left, each projecting 11 in. with a surface width of 2 ft. The average height of the section of the wall and buttresses remaining above the chamfered plinth is 1 ft. 10 in. The last buttress westward has almost disappeared, and, between this and the west range of cloister buildings, the wall becomes fragmentary.

The wall next the cloister is without buttresses. Against it, towards the west end, is a plinth, about 15 ft. long and projecting 1 ft. 3 in., on which stood the lavatory or washing-trough, close to the frater doorway. Nothing of it is left above the plinth, but it probably took the usual form of a channelled ledge with an arch or a row of small arches at the back. A long section of the stone gutter by which the water escaped remains to the east of the plinth. It appears to have been carried under the east end of the building to the main drain south of the cloister. West of the lavatory was a doorway from which a stair mounted to the west end of the frater on the upper floor of the building. A fragment of the base of the stair remains. It appears to have ascended eastwards, probably turning at right angles before reaching the upper floor, so that the doorway at the foot gave access also to the undercroft.

There is no trace of any row of columns along the main axis of the undercroft, which probably had a wooden ceiling, the floor being

on the same level as the cloister walk outside.¹ In addition to the doorways in the east and south walls, there was a third doorway near the south end of the west wall, opening into the west building of the cloister.

WEST RANGE: CELLAR AND PRIOR'S LODGING (plates liii, liv).

The west range, extending from the church and covering the west end of the frater building, measured internally on the ground-floor, 93 ft. 6 in. north to south by 24 ft. 6 in. east to west. At its north end was the outer parlour, which formed the chief entrance from the outer court to the cloister, and was covered by a barrel vault, of which the springing remains. A corbel in the church wall indicates that it was crossed in the middle by a transverse rib. There is a fragment of the upper part of the doorway leading into the cloister, with an inward rebate. The site of the parlour is now nearly filled with a mound of earth, in which the heating chamber of the church has been constructed, and there is no trace of the wall which divided it from the southern part of the building.

This was a long chamber, vaulted from a row of columns in the middle, 12 ft. 6 in. from centre to centre, each vaulting compartment being approximately square. Only fragments of the east wall remain, but there is a considerable portion of the west wall, 3 ft. 2 in. thick, with a chamfered plinth on which stood rectangular buttresses, projecting about a foot. Bases of five of the columns which supported the vault are left: one, however, opposite the doorway which led into the cloister at its south-west angle, has gone. These bases have mouldings which indicate a date c. 1200: the two southern bases are of a more advanced character than the others, with well-marked hollow mouldings (plate liii, 2). A portion of one of the shafts, a plain cylinder, survives, and a capital with square abacus and wide hollow below, now placed upon the fragment of wall which divides the west building from the undercroft of the frater, seems to have belonged to one of the series, but is without any signs of having been worked for vaulting-ribs.²

This building was the *cellarium*, cellar or principal store-room of the monastery. On its east side, as we have seen, were doorways to the cloister and the lower storey of the frater. There was also a doorway, of which there are some indications, in the west wall, covered by a large porch. There was another doorway in the south wall, though the piece of a rebated opening which exists there is possibly not *in situ*. Outside the south wall, however, stood the

¹ All traces of the original floor have disappeared, but the ashlar of the walls does not go below the cloister level, except at one point near the south-east corner, where there may have been a tank sunk in the floor; nor are there indications of steps from any of the doorways of the undercroft. At Carlisle, Lanercost, and Newstead, and in several other houses, the undercroft of the frater is vaulted from a row of columns in the middle, and this was the usual practice.

² The sub-vault of the cellarium at Repton has a row of massive twelfth-century columns down the middle, but it is doubtful whether it was ever vaulted.

kitchen, the foundations of which seem to have been almost entirely removed at a reconstruction of the drain which runs beneath the slope at this point, so that of the few traces that are left nothing definite can be made. The way from the kitchen to the frater passed through the south end of the cellar into the undercroft, and so to the frater stair.

The west building, as the roof-lines on the adjoining wall of the church show,¹ was unusually lofty. It can hardly be doubted that the prior's hall occupied the whole height of the building above the cellar, and was approached by an outer stair on the west side. The north end, above the parlour, was divided into two stages, one of which was the prior's chamber or private room, and the other his bedroom.² As already noticed in the account of the church, there are traces of a doorway from the upper storey of the western building into the plain arched recess in the wall which is common to it and to the church. But this was originally outside the nave, and it was only about 1240 that the church was extended so as to include it; and an extra casing was then given to it, to allow of the construction of the narrow stair which mounts in its thickness. Whether the two-storeyed arrangement indicated existed at this date or was a later development, it is difficult to say; and, whatever the purpose of the recess in the wall may have been in the first instance, it can have been of little practical use to the prior, as the stair which leads from it is much too narrow to have formed a regular or convenient method of access to the interior of the church.

The high-pitched roof of the western building was taken down in the later days of the monastery, and one of flatter pitch substituted. After the suppression of the monastery the cellar appears to have been turned into farm-buildings. The portion of a stone drain, now in its northern part, was probably brought here at this or a later period, and is in all likelihood part of the old lavatory drain in the south walk of the cloister. Fragments of the walls of sheds remain near the south end.

WEST RANGE: WESTERN ANNEXE.

It is also probable that at this time part of the large building to the west was added, the foundations of which show that it covered nearly all of the west face of the old range. This is a long and narrow structure, the west wall of which is some 14 ft. in front of the old wall. For some little distance on the north there is an inter-

¹ This has now been partially stripped of the ivy which covered it and concealed the lower line of roof.

² This is the arrangement at Newstead, where most of the west range was entirely rebuilt in the early part of the nineteenth century, but the old disposition of the prior's hall and the rooms at the north end was retained. At Lanercost the prior's hall remains, with an outer stair, and with a chamber over the cloister parlour at the north end: the building was somewhat altered internally after the suppression of the monastery. The stair and porch of the prior's hall remain at Torre, where the vaulted rooms of the substructure are unaltered.

mediate line of earlier foundation, which seems to mark the westward projection of the two-storeyed block at the end of the prior's hall.

The arrangements of the added building are difficult to make out, but it probably took in the prior's hall upon the upper floor of the *cellarium*, or at any rate the north part of it, the earlier stair to which was either removed or embodied in the new work. The porch near the north end existed already and was incorporated in the addition. It had probably been added to the *cellarium* in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and must have had an upper stage approached by an outer stair which gave access to the prior's hall. Inside the porch there seems to have been a passage on the ground-floor of the new building to the south, between the old cellar wall on the east side and a narrow room on the west. Beyond this were other rooms, extending as far as a line continuing the south wall of the older building. At the north end of the first of these rooms, close to the porch, is a large block of masonry, in which is an elbow-shaped passage about 2 ft. wide and 6 ft. long from north to south, continuing 5 ft. eastwards. This may have been a garderobe or cupboard below the main stair, but of the access to the stair there is no trace. A second room was entered from the first by a passage, 4 ft. wide, with a partition wall between it and a room on the east, which may have been lighted by the destruction of part of the cellar behind, an act which would, of course, involve the curtailment of the prior's hall above. The room at the south end contained a fireplace about 3 ft. wide in the south-west corner. Iron fire-bars which were found here are now cemented into the hearth.

The inference to be drawn from these details is that, at some period not long after the suppression, the west range of buildings was adapted to the purposes of a private house, part of its upper stage being retained, and the vaulted cellar, or what part of it was left, being used for stables and other offices, while, south of the porch, it was covered by a new building. The date at which this was done is quite uncertain, but on general grounds is not likely to have been later than the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century.

EXTRA-CLAUSTRAL BUILDINGS.

We must now turn to the remains of the extra-claustral buildings. The most important of these in a medieval monastery was the infirmary, which was not only the place where members of the community were lodged when ill, but was also the permanent home of the elder brethren who were no longer able to follow the daily routine of the house. The infirmary was usually placed to the east of the cloister, or to the south-east or north-east, according to the position of the cloister south or north of the church, and was reached by a passage through the east range or by the passage which formed a prolongation of the east walk of the cloister. Its plan, generally speaking, was that of the medieval hospital, consisting of a hall, sometimes aisled, with the beds arranged against the walls and an

open space in the middle, and of a chapel at the east end, in which mass was said daily for the benefit of the inmates. Occasionally, owing to difficulties of site, the infirmary stood on a site adjoining the cloister on the south or north, as the case might be; but access to it was invariably obtained through the cloister, and it was never placed in the outer court, where its monastic character would have been imperilled by the resort of lay-folk.

FOUNDATIONS IN CHURCHYARD.

The position of this building at Bolton is uncertain. On the lower ground east of the church, and now included in the churchyard, are some fragments of buildings, apparently part of two distinct structures. Of these one line of wall runs north and south, with remains of a fireplace in a projection at the south end. About 23 ft. east of this is a parallel line of wall, at the north end of which is the foot of the south jamb of a chamfered doorway, rebated on the east side. This opened into a building 11 ft. wide from east to west, of which a fragment of the east wall remains. Some 15 ft. from this, to the north-east, are some remains of another wall running east and west; but whether this formed part of the same building or was separate from it, is quite uncertain. Excavation at this point is impossible, owing to the neighbourhood of graves. Several pieces of moulded stonework of various periods, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, remain among these ruins; but these may have been brought here from the monastic buildings. The date, at any rate, of the walls just described, cannot be determined with certainty. The position on a lower level, and at some distance north-east of the cloister and east of the church, is rather against the theory that they formed part of the infirmary; and they may very well have been post-suppression cottages, in which old material has been re-used. There are foundations of other buildings, which undoubtedly were cottages, in the meadow south-east of the cloister close to the fragment of boundary wall which stands there.

BOYLE ROOM (plates lv, lvi).

The present rectory house, occupying a site to the south of the cloister buildings, with its main front facing south, is for the most part a structure of the end of the seventeenth century. East of it, and now separate from it, is a building with its longer axis north and south, standing a little to the south-west of the extended dormitory range. This, now known as the Boyle Room, has sometimes been called, on very insufficient grounds, the Saxon chapel. On its east face are three buttresses without base-courses, projecting 1 ft. 10½ in. with a surface width of 3 ft. 4½ in. Between the middle and south buttresses is a narrow window-opening, now blocked, with a rectangular head. The sill of this window has the deceptive appearance of the lintel-head of an earlier opening, inserted upside down; and it may have been this which gave rise to the untenable theory of the Saxon chapel. There are traces of other openings to the north.

The buttresses and window are not earlier than the fifteenth century; but the wall may be older, as the buttresses are not bonded into it. The whole building, however, underwent some alteration when it was converted into a schoolroom. A stair and sloping passage were then made along the east wall, and a doorway inserted at the head. The main entrance, at the north end of the west wall, has been restored with a four-centred head, and the windows on this side were inserted in the eighteenth century. There are two buttresses on this side, but the wall has been much rebuilt.

Internally the main building, 34 ft. north to south by 15 ft. 6 in. east to west, was originally divided into two floors. The off-set for the upper floor remains in the east wall, 5 ft. 7 in. above the present ground level: there is no corresponding off-set in the west wall, which seems to have been entirely rebuilt. The building has a somewhat narrower northward extension, also originally in two floors, which seems to have formed the east part of a block which was at right angles to the other, and joined the present east wall of the rectory house. The off-set for an upper floor remains in this latter wall. The present west wall of the extension is of very uncertain date, and was probably made when the western part of the block was taken down. In the north wall, however, just above the present ground-level, is a flat-headed six-light window of the later part of the fifteenth century, with trefoil-headed lights and hollow chamfers on the mullions.¹ Two lights in the western half of this window have been converted into a doorway (plate lvi). The remains of a broken wall on the east side suggest that this part of the building was narrowed when the rest of the alterations were made.

POSSIBLE SITE OF THE INFIRMARY.

The purpose and the original means of entrance to this building are difficult to determine; but it was obviously approached from the cloister by the passage between the east and south ranges, and by the pentise which probably extended from that passage along the west face of the east range, and covered the doorways to the common-room and the extension of the dorter sub-vault. The Boyle Room and its annexe thus formed part of a building which occupied the south-east side of a courtyard, on the east of which was the southern portion of the dorter range, with the frater on the north, and the kitchen buildings on the west side. It is probable that this building was connected with the infirmary. It bears very little likeness in itself to the ordinary infirmary hall of a monastery, the two-storeyed division of which, though occurring in some medieval hospitals,² is not found in houses of monks and canons; and for this purpose it was very narrow. But it is possible that the rectory house is on the

¹ This may be in its original position; but the date of the wall in which it is placed is uncertain, and it may have been inserted here, and the doorway afterwards broken through it. The room which it lights is merely an outhouse.

² *e.g.* at Browne's Hospital in Stamford, where the chapel at the east end is common to both floors.

site of the infirmary hall, and that the Boyle Room formed a southward projection from a building at the east end, which was used by the infirmarer and as a private lodging for special purposes. The arrangement indicated would be very like that at Haughmond, where the infirmary hall is on the south side of a courtyard adjoining the cloister, and the east end of the hall was combined with an earlier building which appears to have been the abbot's lodging.¹ While at Haughmond this position for the infirmary buildings was due to rising ground, which prevented building further east, it is explained at Bolton by the eastward fall of the ground which limited the site. It is possible that the Boyle Room, on this hypothesis, was used as the later prior's lodging, just as the end of the infirmary hall at Haughmond may have been occupied by the abbot, and just as the south end of the dormer range at Ulverscroft was apparently turned into a lodging for the prior late in the fifteenth century.² But it must be remembered that in the later part of the middle ages private rooms in monasteries, formed by partitioning older buildings or adding new blocks, were by no means uncommon, and that accommodation could be found, not only for abbots and priors who had resigned office, but also for those lay "corrodians" whose annuities, purchased from the monastery, sometimes included a habitation within its precincts. At Bolton there is good reason for believing, as has been said, that the south extension of the dormer range formed a private lodging; but there is nothing unusual in the conclusion that private apartments, which could be used for various inmates according to convenience, were added in connexion with the infirmary during the fifteenth century.

RECTORY HOUSE (plate lv).

The rectory house, as already stated, was built about 1700; but the east wall was retained from an older building, and, if the infirmary hall was upon this site, portions of the other walls may have been included in the new structure. Of this, however, there is no certain indication, and, between the suppression and 1700 the older buildings on the site were no doubt much altered. The house of 1700 was apparently formed by incorporating and adding to a parsonage house of the sixteenth century, which is represented by its western portion. Its picturesque south front, though it has not escaped later alteration, owes much of its beauty to the excellent porch, with a flat arch of rusticated stonework, on a semicircular panel in which is the following inscription, with the Boyle shield of arms in a pointed gable above:

¹ The kitchen at Haughmond was on the west side of the courtyard, which must also have been the case at Bolton.

² At Ulverscroft, however, the prior's lodging may always have been here, as the west range of the cloister affords no obvious means for his accommodation. The end of the east range, however, was remodelled at the date indicated, just as a bay window was made about the same time in the lodging at Haughmond. The window at Bolton compares in date with those at Haughmond and Ulverscroft.

SCHOLA BOYLIANA.
 ROBERTUS BOYLE ARM^R SUMPTOS ET STIPENDIA
 HUIC SCHOLÆ FUNDANDÆ PERPETUANDÆ
 QUE LEGAVIT
 CAROLUS COMES
 BURLINGTON ET CORKE
 FUNDUM LIGNUM LAPIDES ET ALIA
 DESIDERATA AD ÆDES ERIGENDAS
 MUNIFICE DOTAVIT
 A.D. MDCC.

The materials mentioned as given by Lord Burlington¹ may well have been upon the site already, and there were no doubt more abundant remains of the cloister buildings than exist to-day. The house itself was the residence of the schoolmaster and his boarders, while the Boyle Room was the actual schoolroom of the establishment.

BUILDING SOUTH-WEST OF RECTORY.

South of the gate which separates the rectory grounds from the road to the church is a large fragment of a chimney, built of very large stones with off-sets. A square-headed fireplace with a lintel remains in the north face above the first off-set, and much non-descript masonry is tumbled beneath it. This building is probably of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and projected from the south end of a house which was probably one of the guest-houses of the priory. It is in a straight line with the west range of the cloister, from which foundations of walls extend in this direction. Possibly stables for the horses of guests stood between this house and the main buildings of the monastery.

OUTER COURT.

Of these, however, and of the other offices, such as the brewhouse and bakehouse, which stood in the outer court, west of the church and cloister, there are no traces above ground, although further excavation might lay foundations bare. The noble gatehouse fortunately remains entire, and forms the nucleus of the Hall, with a long, two-storeyed range on the north, ending in outhouses, and a shorter range upon the south, both added at a much more recent period.

GATEHOUSE (plates lviii-lx).

The gatehouse, built at the beginning of the fourteenth century, is a tower of three storeys, the lowest of which was a through passage with a wide open arch at the east and west ends, and an intermediate wall, dividing the outer from the inner gateway, and pierced by a large archway and a small postern. Internally, the building measures 22 ft. 4 in. north to south: the east to west measurement

¹ This was the second earl, who succeeded his grandfather, the first earl of Burlington and second earl of Cork, in 1698, and died in 1704.

of the outer gateway is 12 ft. 4 in., and of the inner 17 ft. The western arch, which was the entrance from the outer road, is bluntly pointed. It is now blocked by a wall in which is a late sixteenth-century fireplace, with a square head and a double ogee moulding carried round the jambs and lintel. Externally, the great chimney shaft covers the middle of the west face of the tower. The springing of the arch remains on both sides with a moulded order and a hood-mould, ending on the north in the shield of the priory, and on the south in that of Clifford. The capitals of the shafts are much mutilated: their lower mouldings are continued as a string to the angle buttresses, but the shafts have been built in by the later wall. The arch was chamfered on the inner side: the capitals of the shafts remain with scrolled abaci and convex mouldings.

The outer gateway has a pointed barrel vault, divided by projecting ribs with flat edges and hollow chamfers into eighteen square compartments, nine on each side of the crown. Beneath the springing is a moulded string-course, the upper member of which is continued as a half-octagon corbel at the springing of the transverse ribs. Below the hollow member in the lower part of the string at these points is a shield-shaped corbel with an arris in the middle. There is a parallel to this panelled form of barrel vault in a similar position at the inner gatehouse of Whalley Abbey, which is of much the same date.¹

The larger of the two archways between the outer and inner gateways is 11 ft. wide, and is round-headed, with a chamfered edge worked with a double ogee. Its inner face is simply chamfered, with a rebate for folding doors, the upper staples for the hinges of which remain. The chamfer is cut on both sides to admit the square heads of the doors. While the moulding of the outer face of the arch is carried through the jambs, the chamfer of the inner face is stopped below the springing by the rebate, but there is a smaller chamfer beneath this point carried down the outer edge of the rebate. The postern on the south of the archway is also round-headed, and is 5 ft. 6 in. wide. It is simply chamfered on the outer face, but the hood-moulding and base moulds, as in the wider arch, have been cut away. The inner face is rebated: the hinge-holes of the door have been plastered up. The jambs have a slight inward splay, but the arch is not chamfered. There is a plain second order on this side, and a third chamfered order springing from a triangular bracket above the adjoining string-course (plate lix).

The inner gateway or gate-hall has a panelled barrel vault as before. The panels are twenty-four in number, twelve on each side of the crown. The ribs are treated more elaborately than in the outer gateway, and project more deeply, with a roll-and-fillet on their face: they are also mitred at the points where they intersect. The string-course is as before, but the corbels break the lower member of the string, and rest upon small moulded corbels beneath

¹ The details at Whalley are a little later, and may be dated by the licence to crenellate the abbey granted in 1343.

it. A slight variation in treatment may be noticed in one corbel on the north, which may be due to restoration.

The arch which led through the east wall into the outer court of the monastery has a hollow chamfer next the gateway. The moulded capitals are like those of the western arch, but have been cut down to make room for the windows inserted in the blocking which fills the arch. This, in its present state, seems to have been inserted in the eighteenth century, probably taking the place of an earlier wall. It is pierced by a pointed doorway, 7 ft. 2 in. across, divided into two pointed openings by a mullion-shaft, with a filleted roll on each face. The arch and jambs have ogee mouldings separated by a wide casement: the space between the arch and the openings has tracery of a late fourteenth-century type, with a strongly vertical tendency.¹ On either side of the doorway is a flat-headed window with a slight inner splay: the jambs are slightly curved to meet the lintel. These are comparatively modern,² but the doorway is old, and its date is about 1370-80. Although the remains of the octagonal chapter-house indicate a somewhat earlier fourteenth-century date, there can be little doubt that this was its west entrance, and the slight discrepancy in date may be due merely to the fact that the completion of the chapter-house was delayed. At any rate, the suitability of the doorway for such a purpose is obvious, following, as it does, a recognised type, and the evidence of measurements shows, as already noted, that it would have exactly fitted the position indicated.

The gateway forms the dining-room of the house. In the eighteenth century the panels of the vault were decorated with sepia paintings of emperors, empresses, and other characters from Roman history, probably under the direction of Kent, who was much employed by the third earl of Burlington. These are now much faded, as is also the similar painting of Romulus and Remus with the wolf, upon the east side of the intermediate wall. The interior of the gateway is represented in Landseer's well-known picture, "Bolton Abbey in the olden time."

On either side of the inner gateway is a doorway, 3 ft. 4 in. wide, with an ogee head and a wide hollow moulding. That on the south, much renewed, opens into a passage and lobby, vaulted in plaster, beyond which is the drawing-room, on the ground-floor of the south wing. A short passage to the east turns at right-angles to reach the foot of a newel stair to the upper floor of the wing. On this side all is comparatively modern, and there are no traces of the earlier arrangement. The corresponding doorway on the north side of the gateway is original, and opens into a passage at the foot of the stair which leads to the upper floors and roof of the gatehouse. A smaller doorway, 2 ft. 6 in. broad, with a four-centred head, east of the

¹ There is a shield above the doorway, evidently made when it was inserted here. This is now much defaced: the crocketed hood of the doorway has also been mutilated.

² The mullions, however, are of old stonework.

other, seems to have been the entrance to a chamber, which was possibly occupied by the gate-keeper, but at present opens into a cupboard. The original plan of the buildings adjoining the gatehouse, which must have included the almonry, has been obliterated by the modern work; but the entrance-hall, to the north of the gatehouse, seems to belong in part to the older building, and the almonry may have been on this side.

The newel stair ascends in a rectangular projection in the middle of the north wall, and is lighted by three small rectangular openings, one in the west and two in the north face. The first floor of the gatehouse is divided by modern partitions into four rooms, with a passage from north to south.¹ Owing to the chimney-block outside, there are no windows in the west wall. In the east wall of the north-east room there is a four-light window, with renewed mullions, over the inner archway of the gate-hall. There are two windows in the south wall, one of two lights in the south-east room, which is old; the other of three lights, in the south-west room, has been modernised. In the north-west room there is an old two-light window, the middle mullion of which has been renewed, in the north wall. A doorway with a four-centred head, in the south-west corner of the tower, opens into a garderobe. There is a fireplace immediately east of the stair-turret in the north wall: the chimney at the back of this is old.

The top floor, like that below, is now partitioned into four rooms, but without reference to the plan of those on the first floor. These are also divided into two eastern and two western rooms, with a passage between. The north-east room, entered by a door near the head of the stair, has a very fine fireplace in the north wall, with moulded mantel, plain chimney-breast, and a suite of mouldings round the edges of the hearth-opening. These are Gothic in character, consisting of a small hollow and bead continued into a wide hollow, a bead between two quirks, and a shallow hollow below. The fireplace was probably inserted in the sixteenth century, shortly after the suppression of the monastery, and its chimney is common to the fireplace in the room beneath. In the east wall, near the north end, is a small rectangular window; and near the south end is a two-light window, with cusped lights and a square head, immediately above the four-light window on the first floor. This has hinges for shutters, and, like the other windows of a similar type in the tower, belongs to the fifteenth century. The south-east room extends across the end of the passage, and is lighted by two small rectangular windows, one in the east and the other in the south wall, with inward splays. The south-west room has a two-light window in the south wall, like that just described, but much modernised, east of which is a pointed doorway with moulded head, giving access to the garderobe whose shaft projects from the middle of the wall.

¹ The north-east room is the largest of these, and projects into the passage. The landing of the newel stair is in the recess formed by this projection at its north end.

This doorway is of the fourteenth century, and not as is the garderobe doorway upon the lower floor, an insertion. The north-west room is lighted in the same manner as that on the south-east, with a small splayed opening in the west, and another in the north wall. The arrangement of windows on both floors indicates that there was no original partition into rooms. Possibly the upper part of the gatehouse was used as a servants' lodging, and, as time went on, may have been divided into separate rooms by wainscoting.

From this floor the stair mounts to the roof. The tower is battlemented with chamfered embrasures, 1 ft. 2 in. wide, between merlons rising 2 ft. 4½ in., with a surface width of 3 ft. 8 in. The coping of the merlons is rounded outwards, with a projecting string below, the upper surface of which is chamfered, with a bead round the edges. At each corner is a square turret, set across the angle, with a platform approached by slightly winding stairs. The parapets, battlemented with tall and narrow merlons and deep embrasures, slightly oversail the lower part of each turret. In the middle of the north face the stair-turret ends in a platform, 10 ft. square, similarly battlemented, but without a stair from the roof. The corresponding projection for the garderobe on the south side rises to a battlemented platform in the same way. The great chimney on the west ends in a moulded cap, but the top of that on the north-east side of the tower has been rebuilt. There is no licence to crenellate the priory in existence,¹ and the battlementing belongs to a date after the building of the lower part of the gatehouse, possibly as late as the fifteenth century, which is indicated by the general proportions of the merlons and embrasures. It was certainly at this date that several of the windows were inserted in the tower, which otherwise is of the previous century. Although the crenellation may well have been prompted by the danger of Scottish inroads in this high-land country, no other defensive features were introduced, and there are no traces of a barbican at the outer, or of a portcullis at the inner entrance of the gateway; nor, so far as we know, were such additions actually needed at any time. Bolton, at all events, is without such elaborate military precautions as were provided in the gatehouse at Thornton during the last quarter of the fourteenth century.²

PRECINCT WALL.

The road which passes the west face of the gatehouse follows for some distance the line of the wall which formed the boundary of the monastic precinct. South of the gatehouse this mounted the

¹ There are numerous licences by letters patent for the crenellation of monasteries or portions of their buildings in the fourteenth century. Thus licences exist for St. Mary's, at York, in 1309, for Guisbrough in 1344, for Drax in 1362, for Selby in 1365, and for Bridlington in 1387. It is possible that the licence for Bolton, which was not held in chief, was granted by the second or third Lord Clifford, as patrons and superior lords of the prior and convent.

² Licences for the crenellation of this new building were issued in 1383 and 1389.

hill to the present village, keeping to the edge and bearing slightly eastwards. The wall on the west side of the Hall garden is somewhat to the west of the original line, but is built of old material. At the mill, further south, the old wall appears, but is much broken. Between this and the gate through which the road to the church and Hall passes, some cottages are built up against its west side; but from the gate to the top of the hill a long, unbroken piece is left, with the remains of four buttresses which were bonded into the wall, 54 to 56 ft. apart. The wall continues for a little distance beyond the breach popularly called the Hole in the Wall, through which a very picturesque view of the river and the cascade on the opposite side is seen. It then ceases, but apparently descended the slope in a north-easterly direction to the river. The fragments standing in the meadow south-east of the priory may belong to it; but its course here is doubtful.

To the north of the gatehouse there are remains of old stonework in the long wing which forms the larger of the additions to the Hall, but no clear traces of the boundary wall. It was probably carried on as far as the nearest point on the river, which bounded the priory on the north and east. The date of the older portion of the north wing of the house, as it stands, is probably post-suppression: there are traces of an eighteenth-century archway near the gatehouse, which was probably intended to be the principal entrance from the road, but was afterwards walled up.

The mill already mentioned appears to be upon the site of the priory mill, which was worked by a stream conveyed from ponds upon the slope above. This subsequently formed the main drain of the monastery, entering the river at some distance to the south-east, where the remains of the outlet of an old drain can still be traced. The picturesque arch of roughly rusticated stonework, built as an aqueduct across the road at the mill, was certainly not in existence before the middle of the eighteenth century, and, although there seems to be no record of its building, was probably constructed by order of the third Earl of Burlington, the taste of whose age for a blend of romance with the prevailing classicism of form it reflects with great success.

BARN.

The fine barn, outside the precinct wall and close to the village, has been much renewed, and appears to contain no medieval work; but there is little doubt that it takes the place of an earlier barn which belonged to the convent.

The description of the buildings is now concluded. Scanty as are the remains compared with those of other Yorkshire monasteries and slight though their purely architectural interest is, apart from that of the church, they nevertheless offer features of peculiar interest, both in general plan and detailed arrangement, and furnish the archaeologist with some difficult problems. In considering these it is well to remember that, although the disposition and uses

of the chief buildings of a monastery are well known, the evidence for the actual employment of the miscellaneous groups of buildings which are to be found outside the cloister is anything but complete, and the study of monastic documents suggests that there was a large variety of uses to which they could be put upon occasion. As more attention is paid to the remains of the smaller monasteries, where means were anything but large and room was cramped, the more ready will students be to admit possible exceptions to the accepted rules of monastic planning, and avoid hard-and-fast explanations of particular cases. While the ruins of Bolton Priory present no startling contrasts to conventional custom, they offer hints of this nature which give them a special value to the searcher for variations from the normal type.

APPENDIX.

THE SEAL OF BOLTON PRIORY.

The following note on the priory seal has been kindly furnished by Mr. Charles Clay, F.S.A., Librarian to the House of Lords :

There is an illustration of the priory seal of Bolton in Whitaker, *Craven*, 3rd ed., p. 592. It shows the Virgin seated, holding the Child on her left knee, and the legend [SIG]ILL SCE M[ARIE DE] BOL . . .

The illustration is taken from a crude and imperfect drawing, and no reference is given to any impression attached to an original document. Nor does any such impression appear to be recorded.

There is, however, an impression of the seal of Prior John of Laund (de Landa), to whom reference has been made in the text of this volume. This is attached to Anc. Deed, LS. 332, of date 1310, in the Public Record Office, in which the prior is called John without a surname. The description is as follows:

White wax, varnished brown; pointed oval, $1\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{7}{8}$ in. Beneath a cusped canopy without shafts our Lord in glory; an angel half-length on either side; below, beneath a pointed canopy on which our Lord rests, the Virgin and Child half-length; in base, beneath an arch, the prior half-length in prayer to the sinister

ESTO: MEMÖR SERVI [V]IRGO MARIA TVI

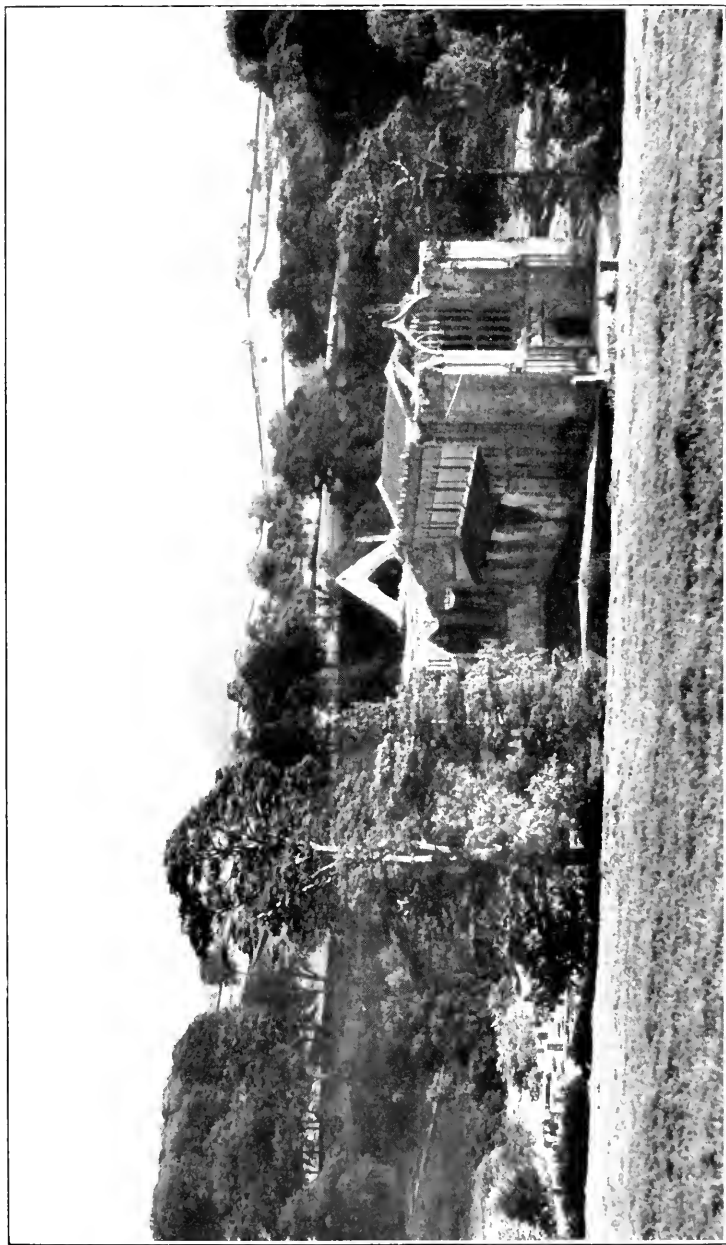


PLATE II.

THE PRIORY CHURCH: GENERAL VIEW FROM NORTH-WEST

Photo: J. H. Gough.

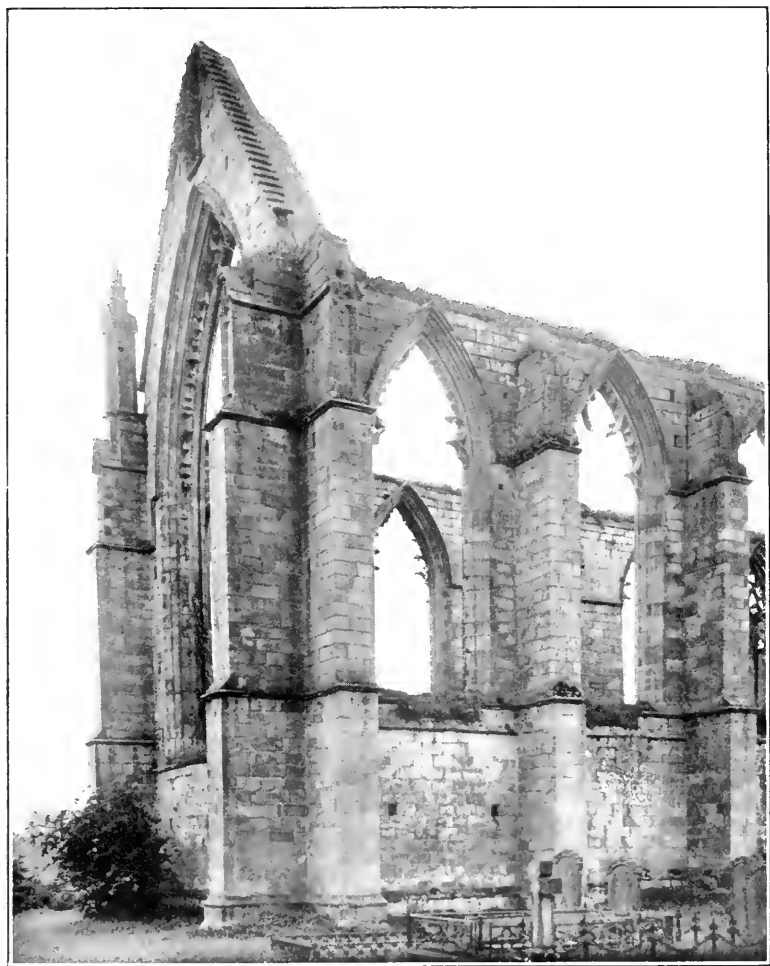


PLATE III.

Photo J. H. Gough.

EAST END OF CHURCH: NORTH-EAST ANGLE
(pp. 133-135).

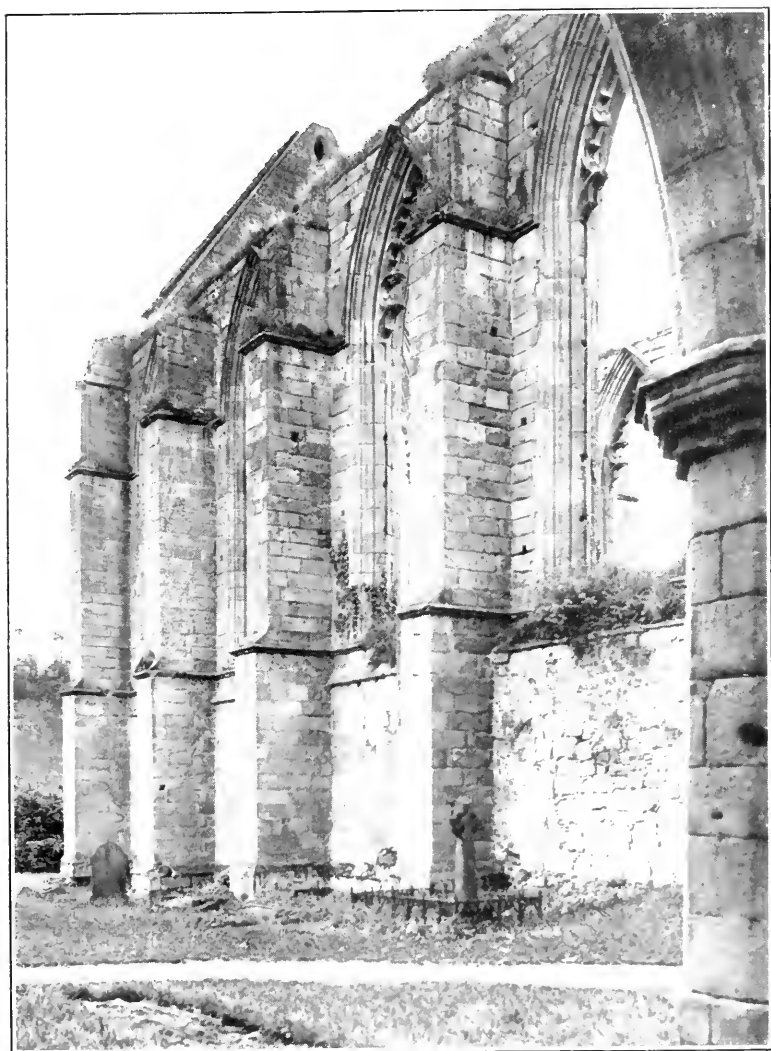


PLATE IV.

Photo: J. H. Gough.

CHOIR AND PRESBYTERY: NORTH WALL, EXTERIOR
(p. 133).

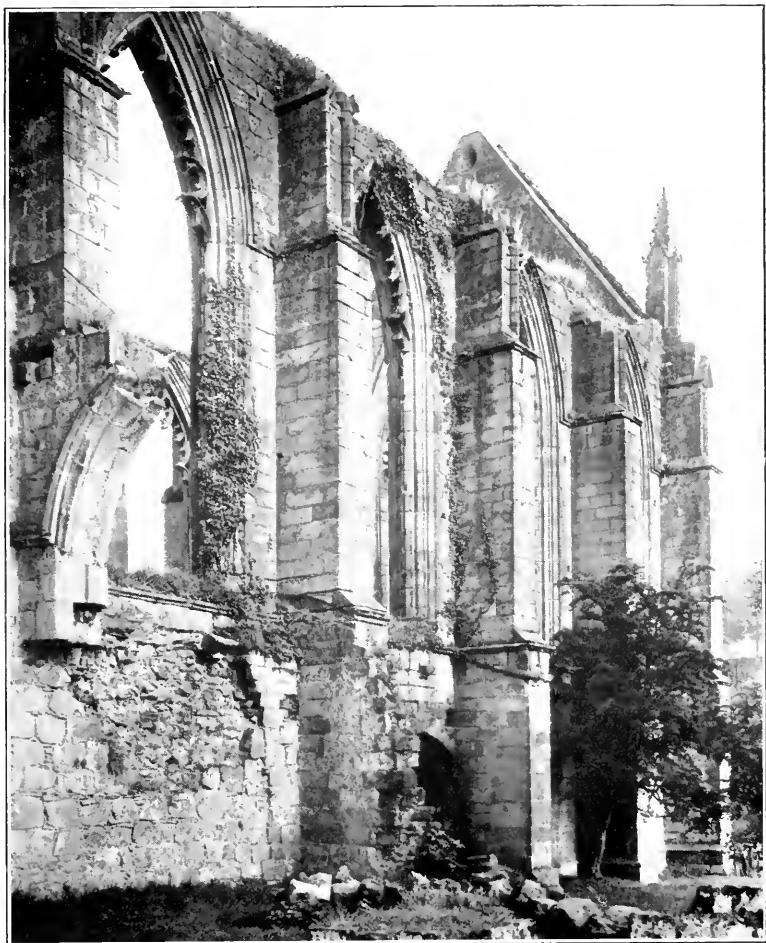


PLATE V

Photo. J. H. Gough.

CHOIR AND PRESBYTERY, SOUTH SIDE, SHOWING HEAD OF
WINDOW IN EAST WALL OF SOUTH TRANSEPT
(pp. 133, 147).

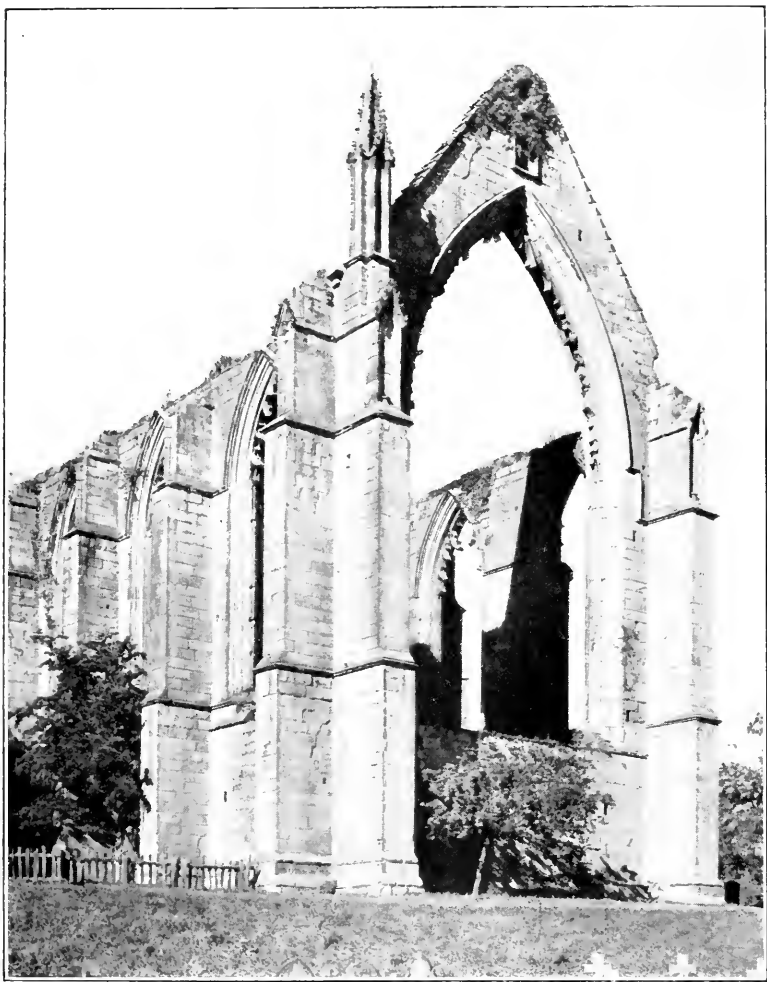


PLATE VI.

Photo : J. H. Gough.

EAST END OF CHURCH: SOUTH-EAST ANGLE
(p. 134).

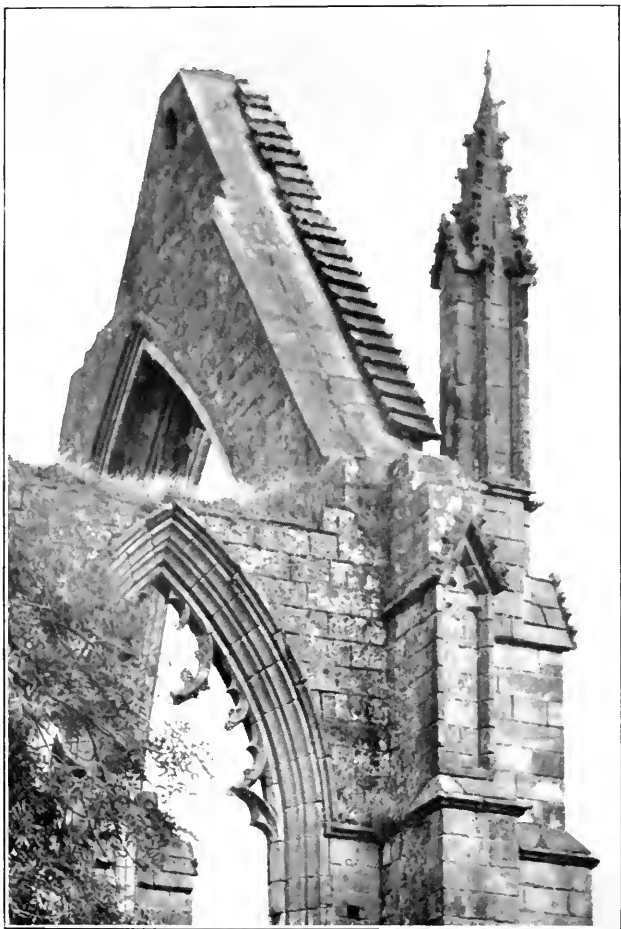


PLATE VII.

Photo: J. H. Gough.

EAST GABLE OF CHURCH, WITH PINNACLE OF SOUTH-EAST BUTTRESS
(p. 134).

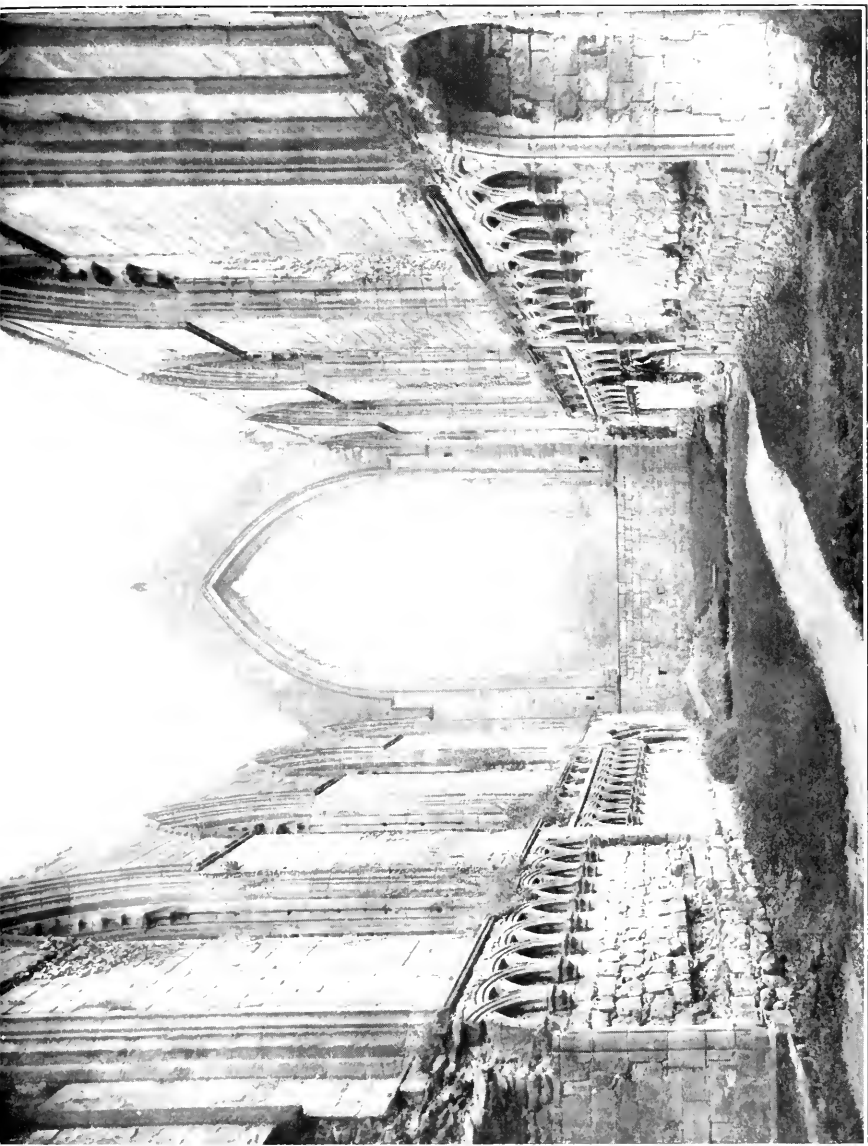


PLATE VIII.

CHOIR AND PRESBYTERY: INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST.

Photo: J. H. Gough.

(p. 135).

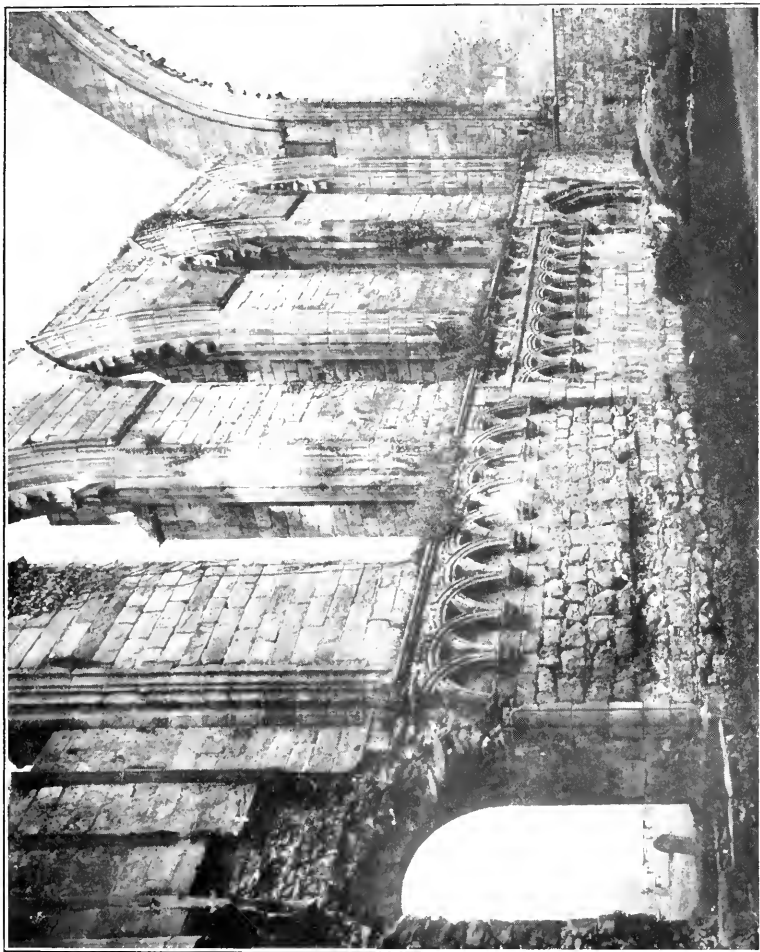


PLATE IX.

CHOIR AND PRESBYTERY: INTERIOR, NORTH SIDE
(pp. 135-139).

Photo: J. H. Gough.

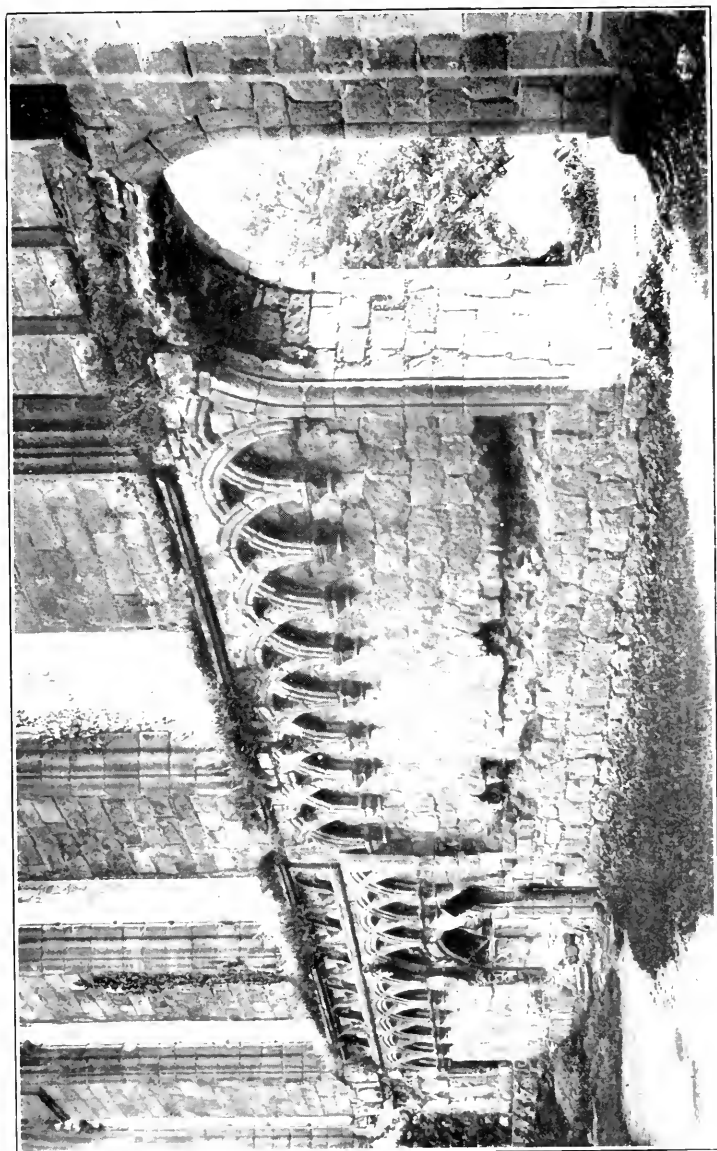


PLATE N.

CHOIR AND PRESBYTERY: ARCADING, SOUTH SIDE
(pp. 135-139).

Photo: J. H. Gough

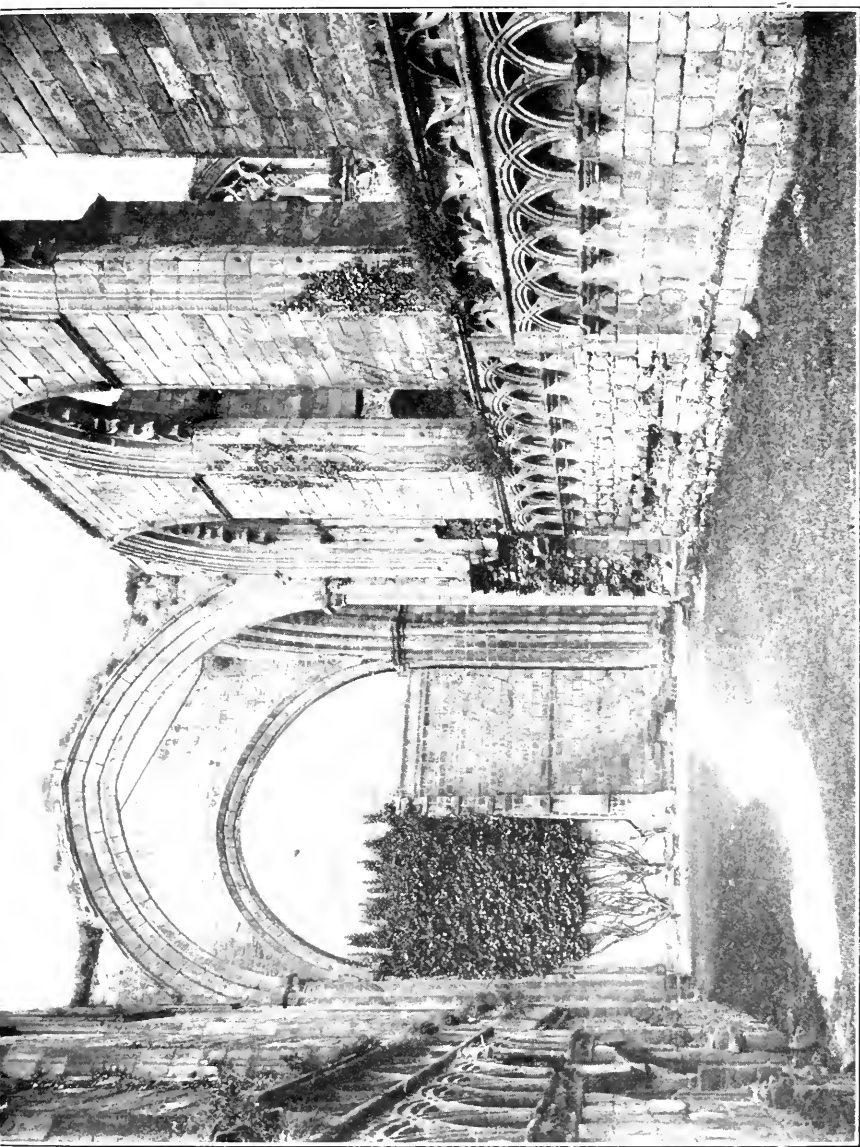




PLATE XII.

Photo. J. H. Gough.

CHOIR, INTERIOR, SOUTH-WEST BAY, SHOWING 12TH-CENTURY
ARCH INTO TRANSEPT CHAPELS AND EAST PIERS OF CROSSING.
PP. 131, 139, 141.

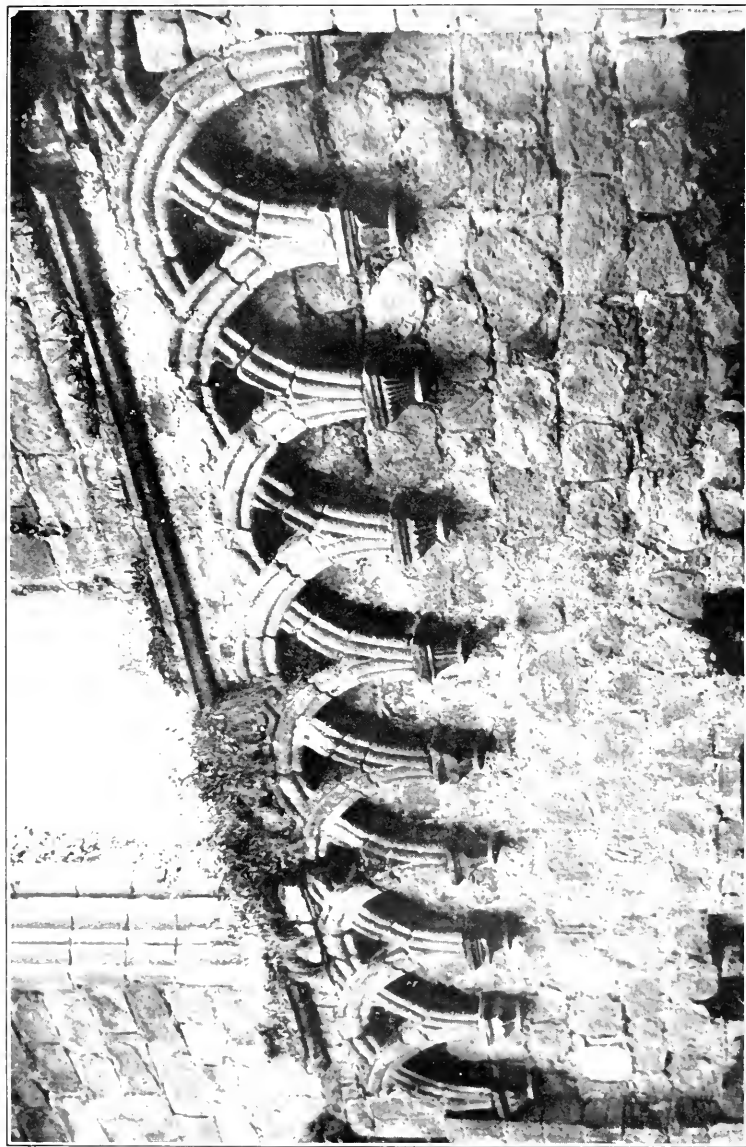
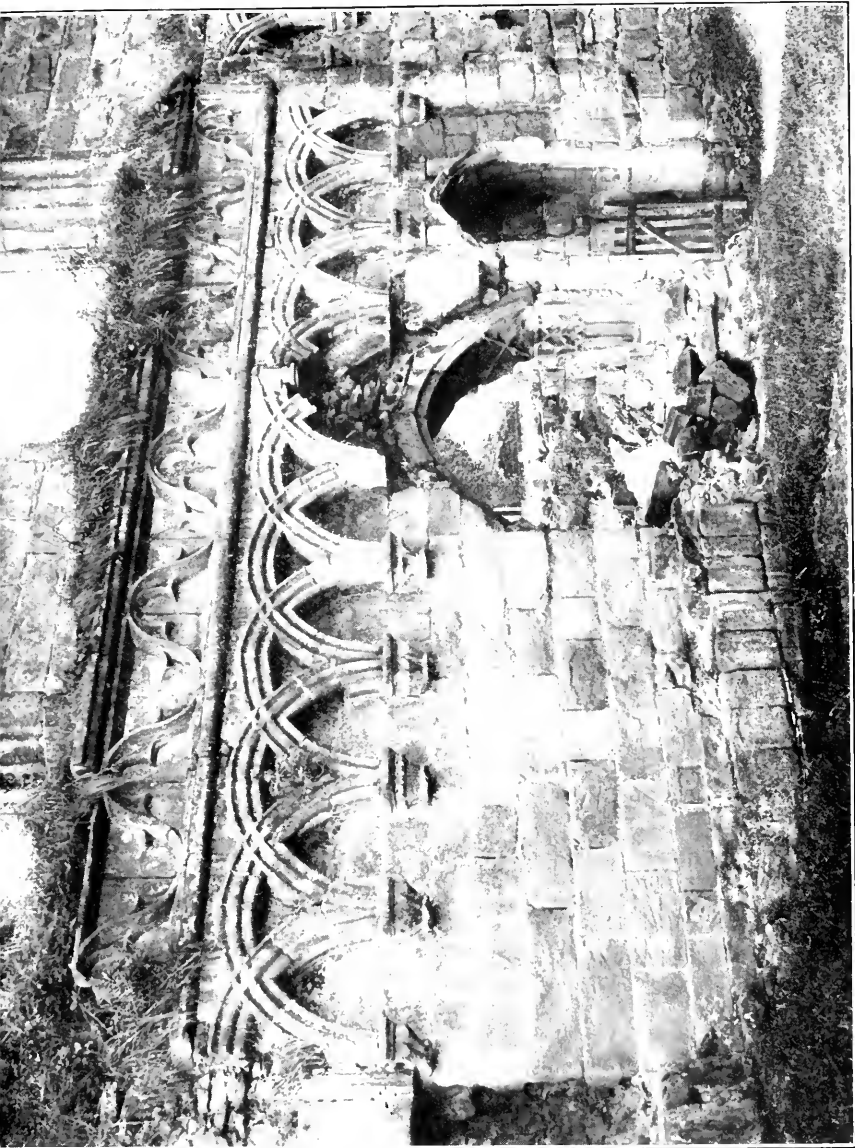


PLATE XIII.

CHOIR. ARCADING IN SOUTH WALL, SHOWING MASONRY OF FIRST CHURCH
(p. 130)

Photo: R. H. Atchley.



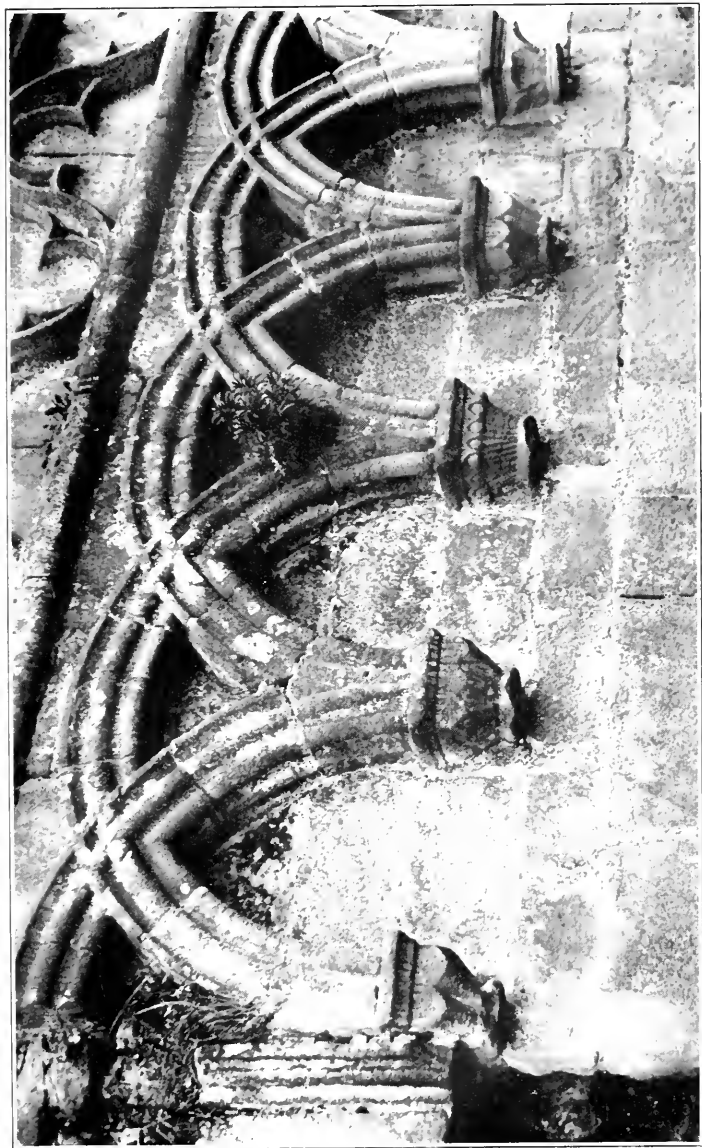


PLATE XV

PRESBYTERY: ARCADING IN SOUTH WALL, EASTERN COMPARTMENTS, SHOWING CAPITALS
(pp. 138-139).

Photo: R. H. Abernethy.



PLATE XVI.

Photo: R. H. Atterley.

PRESBYTERY: ARCADING IN NORTH WALL, WESTERN
COMPARTMENTS, SHOWING CAPITALS

(pp. 138, 139).

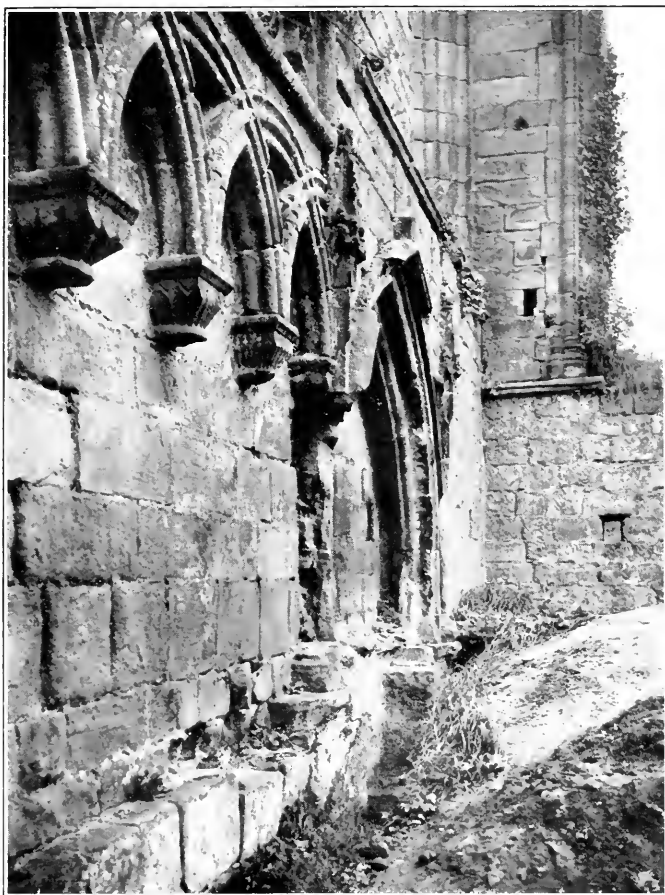


PLATE XVII

Photo: J. H. Gough.

CHANCEL: INTERIOR, NORTH-EAST CORNER, WITH
SITE OF CHANCEL STEPS
(p. 139).

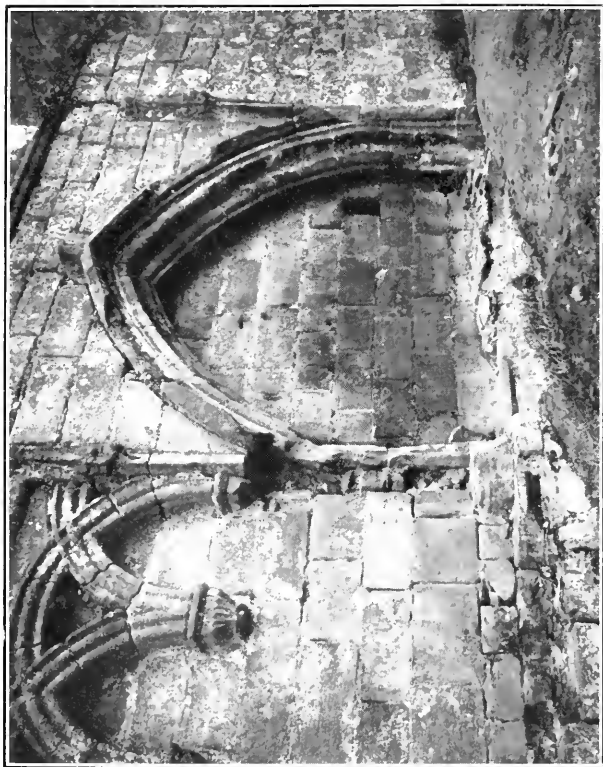


PLATE NVIII

Photo : J. H. Gough.

CHANCEL: TOMB-RECESS IN NORTH WALL (p. 139),
WITH PART OF PRESBYTERY ARCADING
(pp. 137, 138).

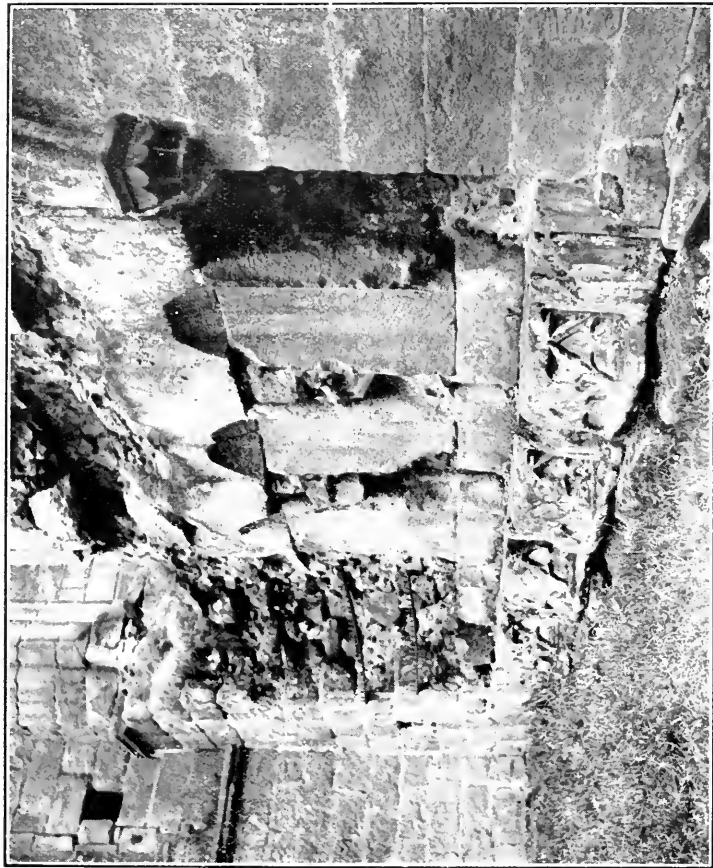


PLATE XIX.

CHANCEL: SOUTH WALL, SEDILIA
(p. 139).

Photo: J. H. Gough.

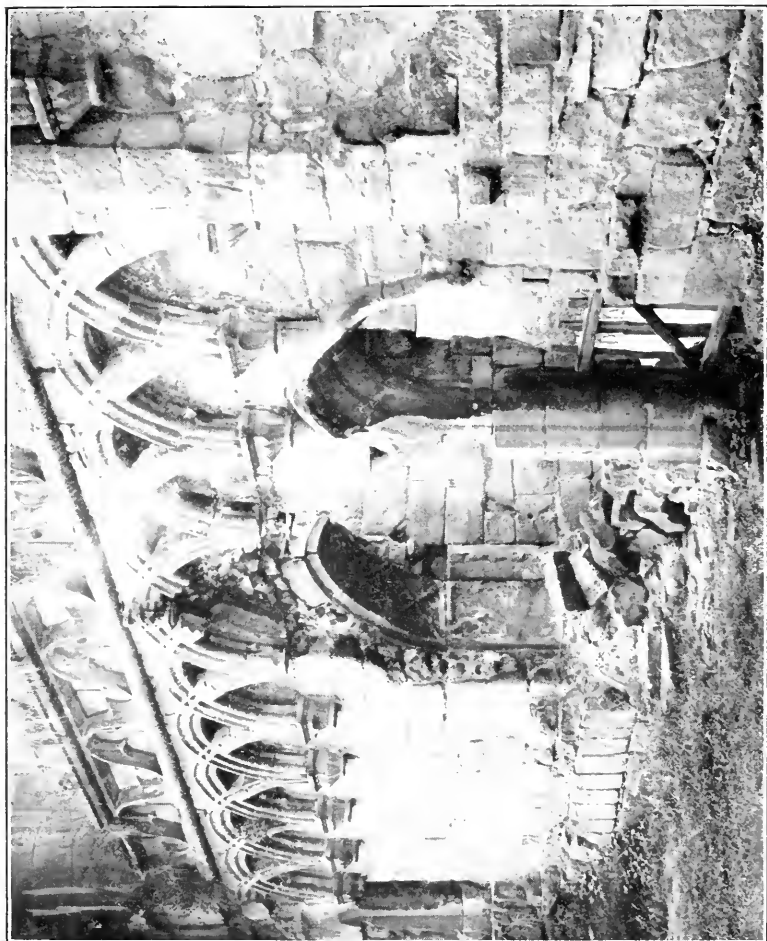


PLATE XX.

PRESBYTERY: ARCADING IN SOUTH WALL, WITH TOMB-RECESS, ETC.
(p. 140)

Photo: J. H. Gough.

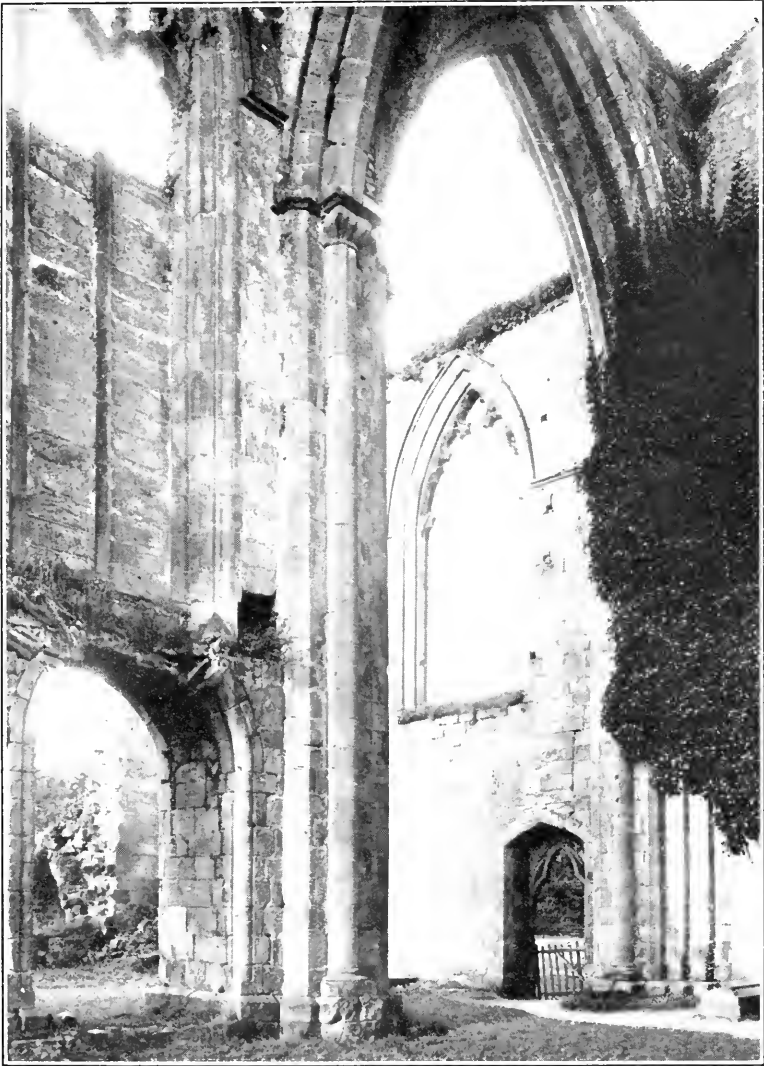


PLATE XXI.

Photo: J. H. Gough

CROSSING: SOUTH ARCH AND SOUTH-EAST PIER, LOOKING SOUTH-WEST
(p. 141).

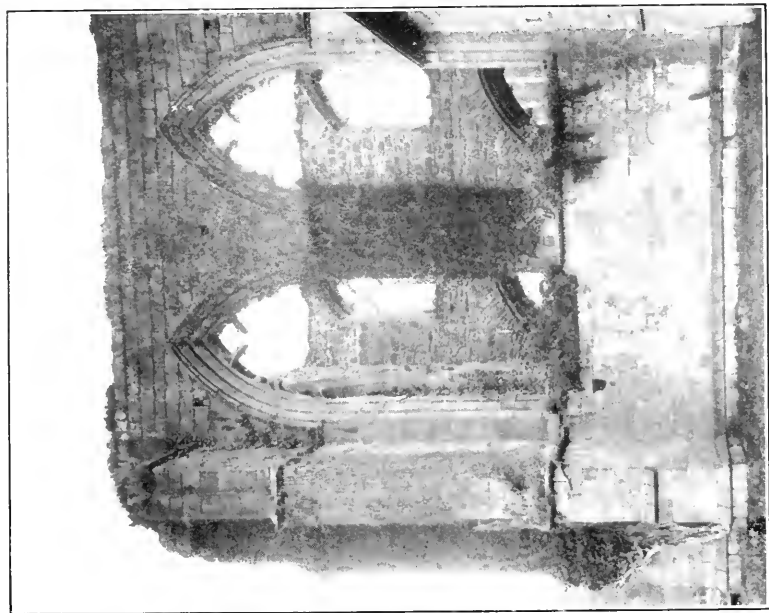
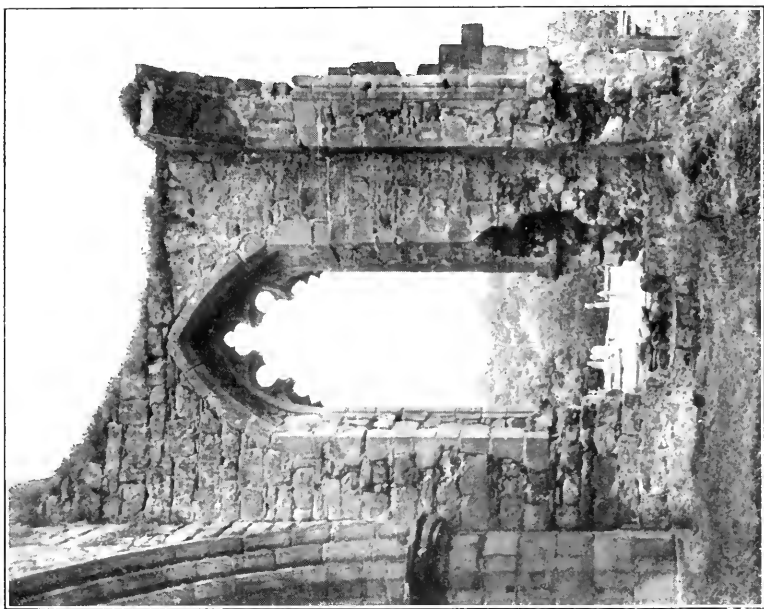


PLATE XXII.

(1).



NORTH TRANSEPT (pp. 143-145).

(1) EXTERIOR, WEST SIDE.

(2) INTERIOR, NORTH WINDOW OF EAST AISLE.

(2).

Photos: J. H. Gough.



PLATE XXIII

Photo. G. H. R. & Co.

NORTH TRANSEPT. INTERIOR, LOOKING NORTH
(pp. 143, 144.)

WITH NORTH AND EAST ARCHES OF CROSSING
(pp. 141, 142, 144.)



PLATE XXIV.

Photo. J. H. Gough.

CROSSING: NORTH-EAST ANGLE, PIERS AND ARCHES

(PLATE 129)



PLATE XXV.

Photo: J. H. Gough.

CROSSING: SOUTH-EAST ANGLE, PIERS AND ARCHES
(p. 142).

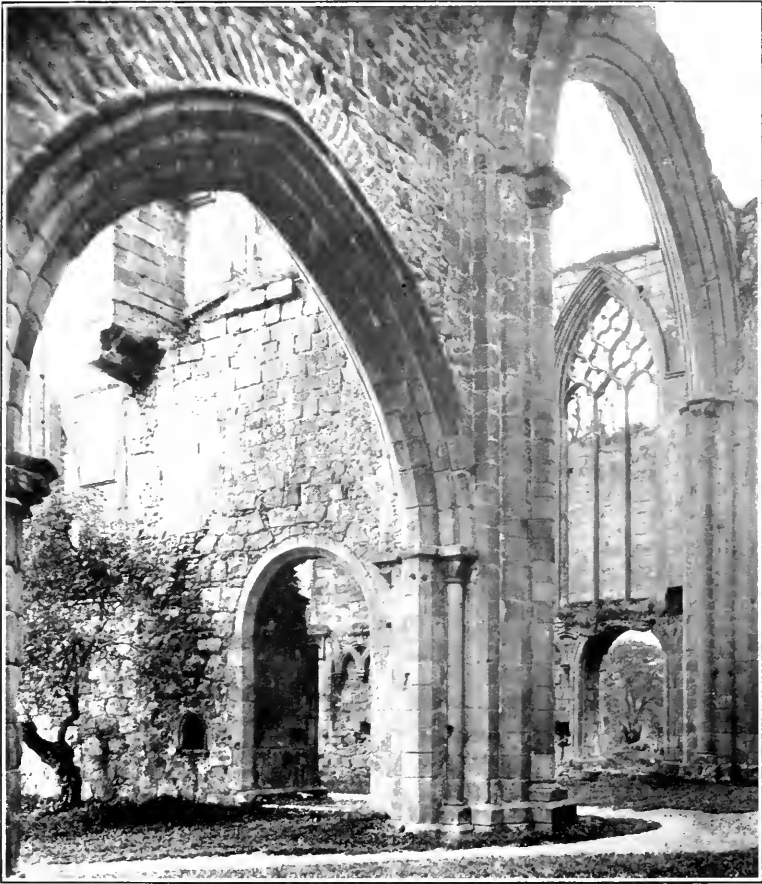


PLATE XXVI.

Photo: J. H. Gough.

NORTH TRANSEPT: SOUTH ARCH OF ARCADE, SHOWING 12TH-CENTURY
ANGLE-SHAFT PISCINA OF EAST CHAPEL AND ARCHWAY
INTO CHOIR

(pp. 143-145).

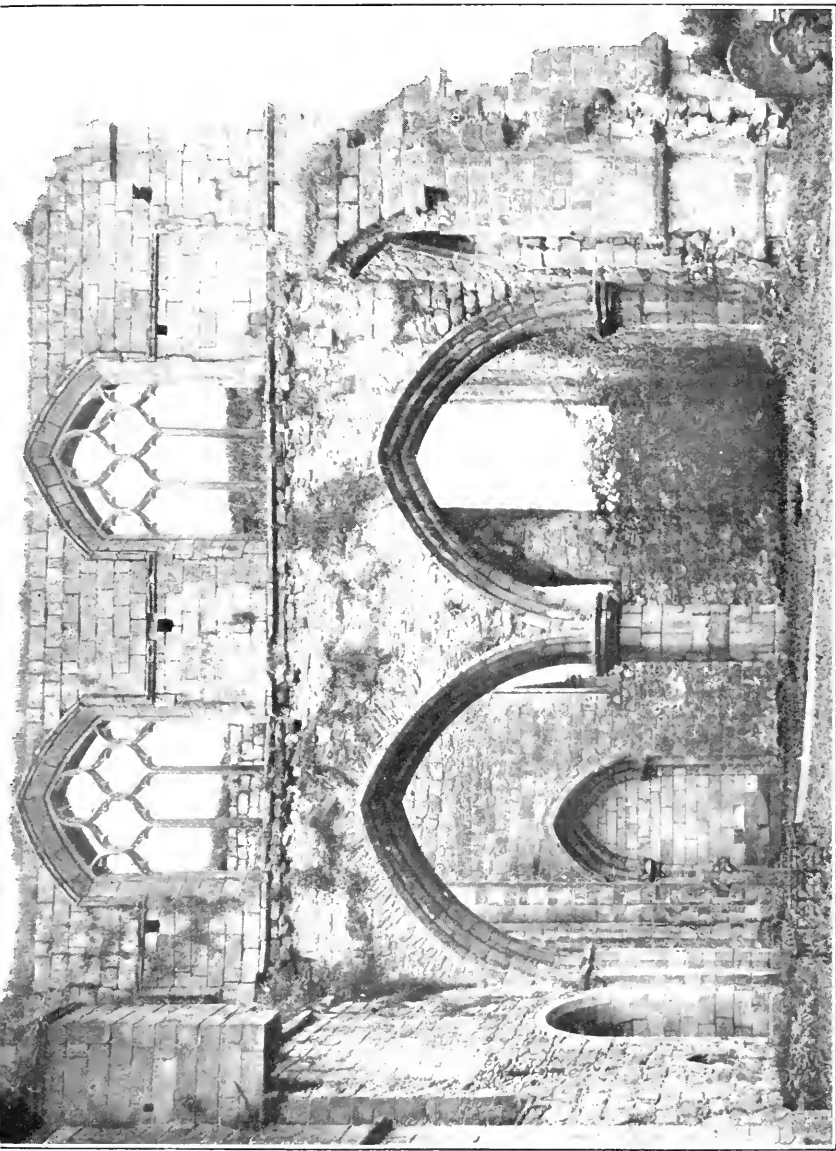


PLATE XXII

NORTH TRANSEPT: ARCADE AND CLERESTORY, EAST SIDE, SHOWING REMAINS OF EAST AISLE AND BLOCKED ARCH FROM NORTH AISLE OF NAVE.

Photo.

J. H. Gough.

(p. 11).

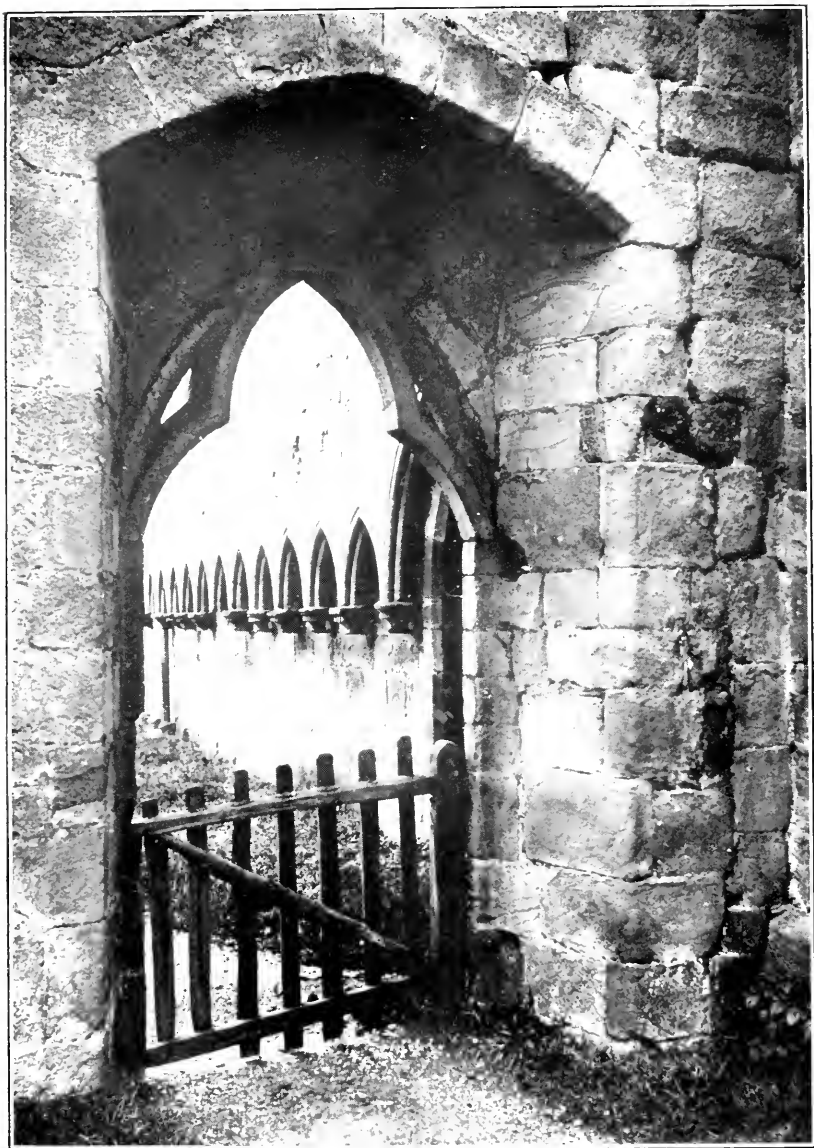


PLATE XXVIII

Photo: J. H. Gough.

SOUTH TRANSEPT: CLOISTER doorway (pp. 145, 156), SHOWING
ARCADING IN CLOISTER wall OF NAVE (p. 147).

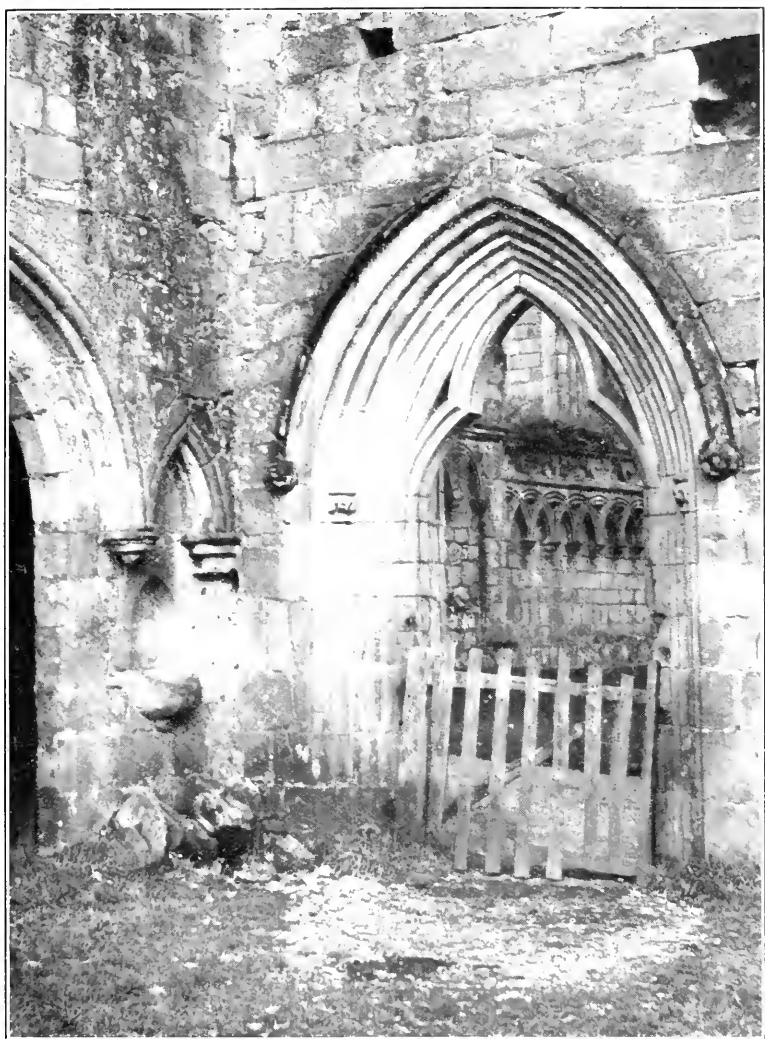


PLATE XXIX

Photo J. H. Gough.

SOUTH TRANSEPT, CLOISTER DOORWAY, EXTERIOR

(pp. 145, 150)

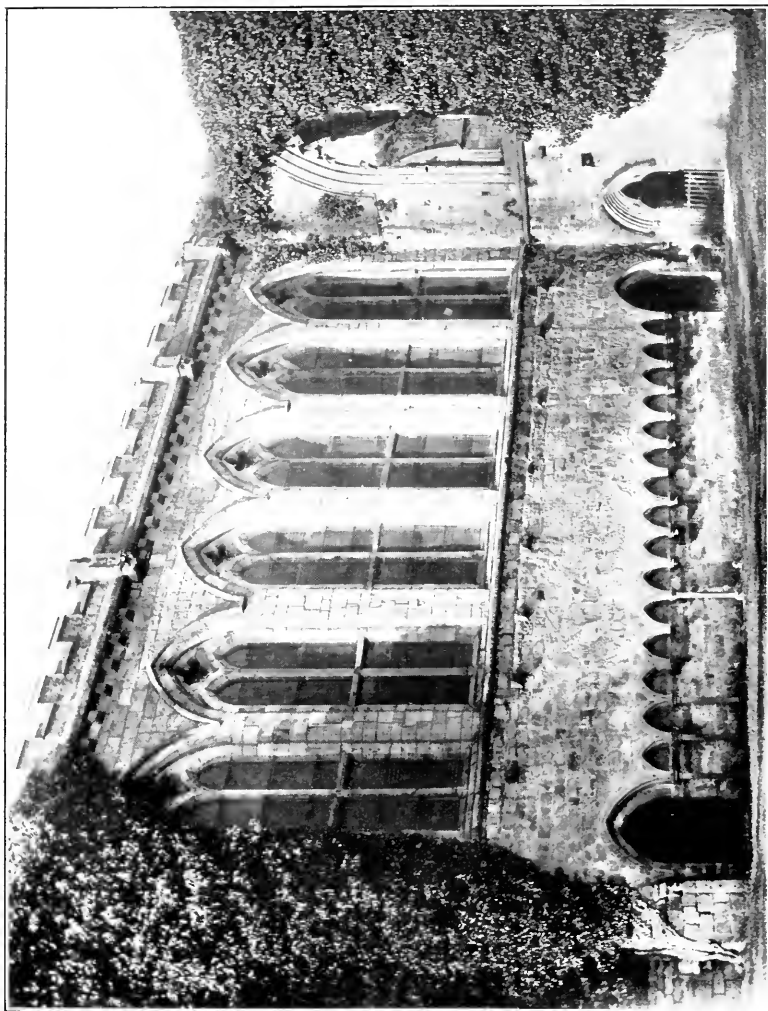


PLATE XXX.

NAVE: SOUTH WALL, WITH CLOISTER ARCADE AND DOORWAYS
(p. 147).

Photo: J. Gibson.

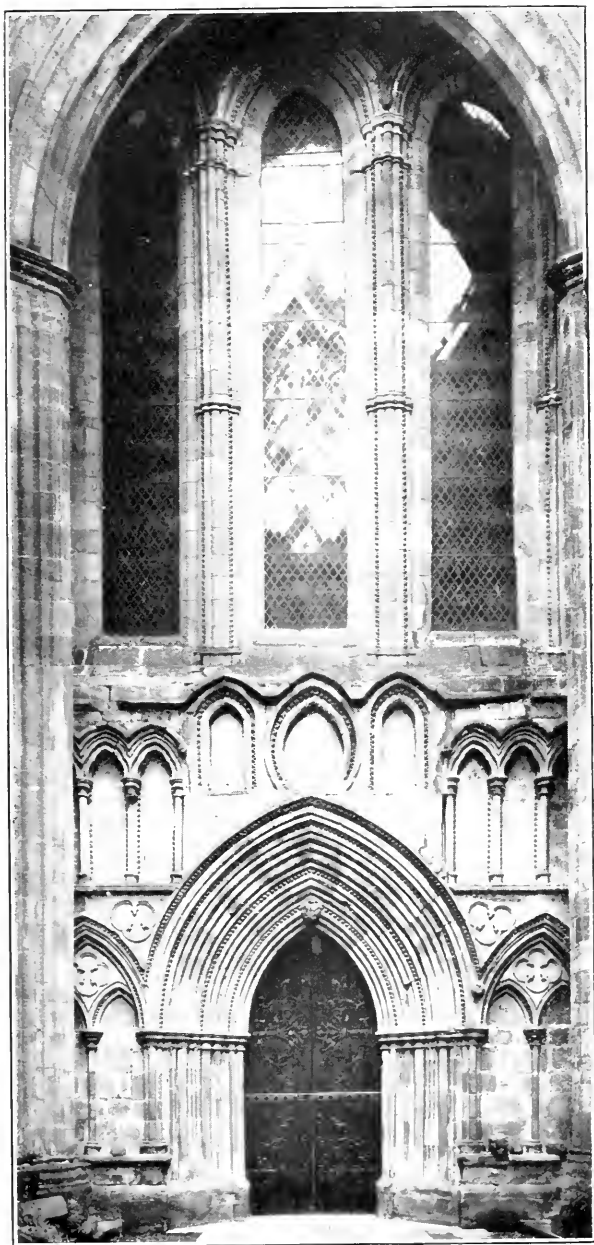


PLATE XXXI.

Photo : J. H. Gough.

NAVE: WEST doorway and window (pp. 148, 149), with EAST
ARCH OF 16TH-CENTURY TOWER
(p. 155).



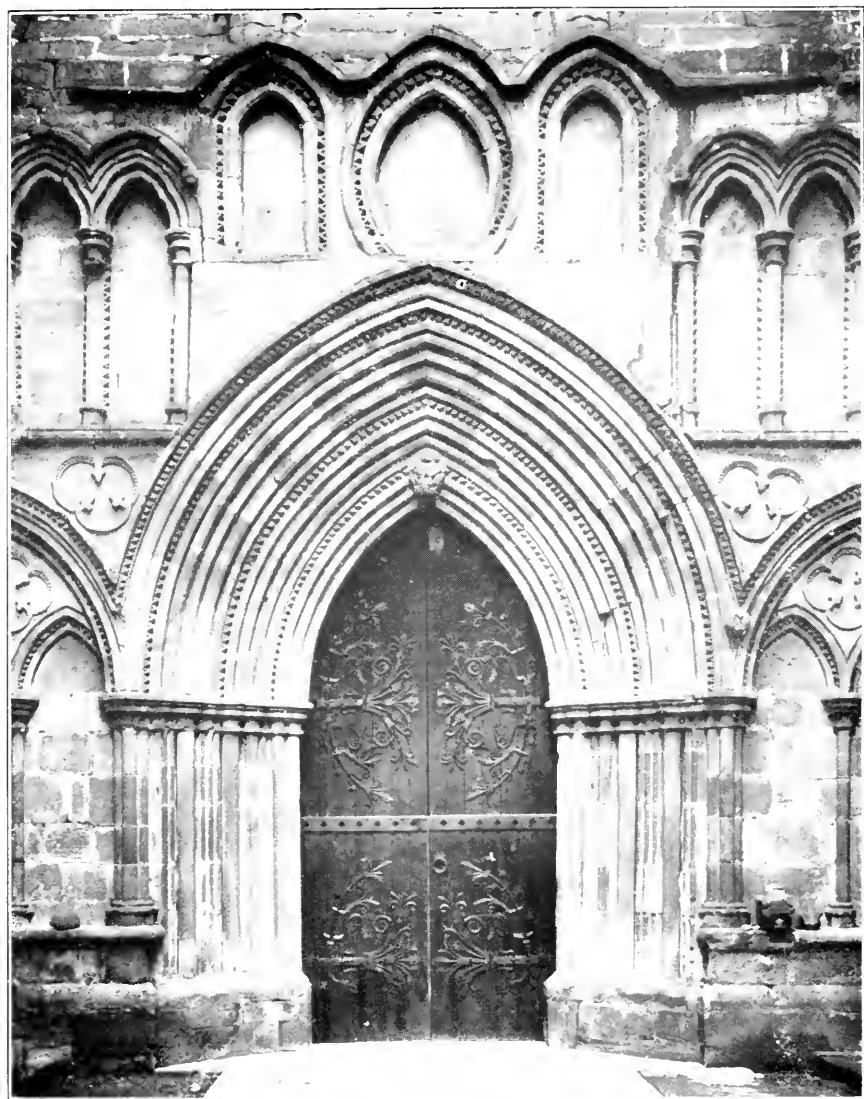


PLATE XXXII

NAVE: WEST DOORWAY
(pp. 148, 149).

Photo: J. H. Gough.

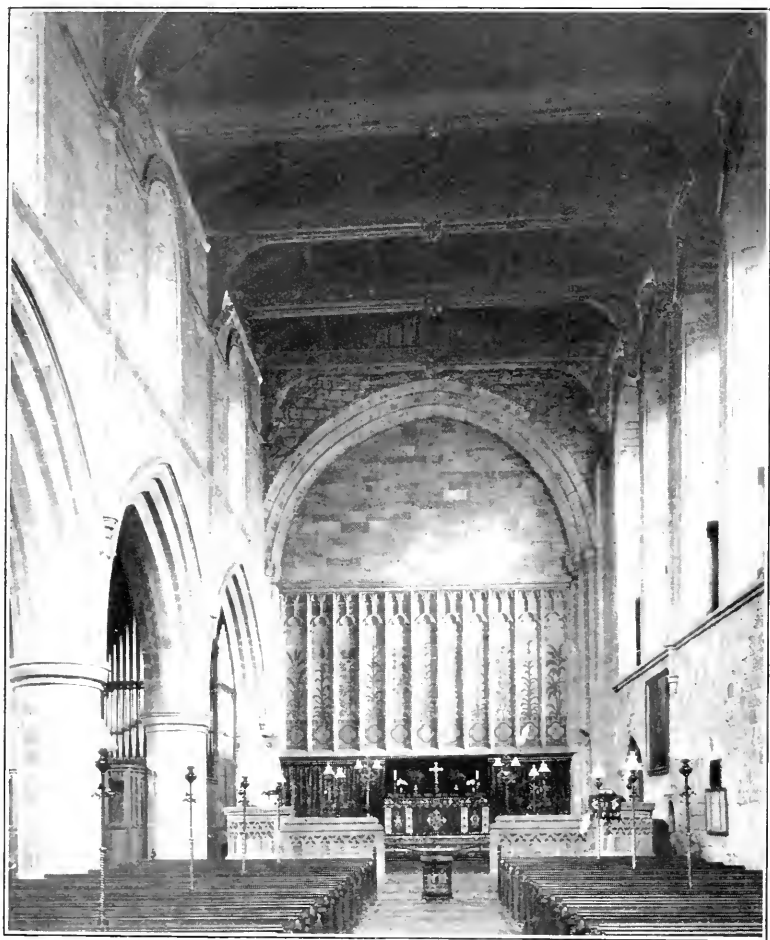


PLATE XXXIII

Phot. J. H. Gough.

NAVE: INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST, SHOWING WEST ARCH OF CROSSING
AND MODERN FITTINGS OF PAROCHIAL CHANCEL

(pp. 156, 157).

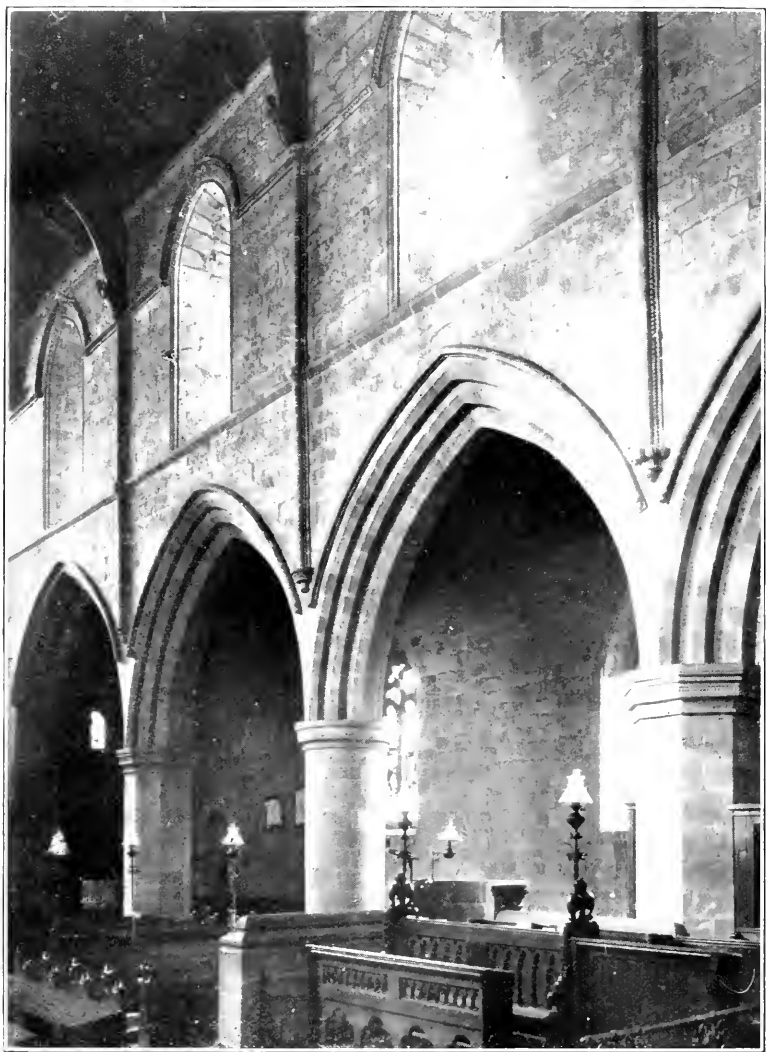


PLATE XXXIV.

Photo: J. H. Gough.

NAVE: NORTH ARCADE AND CLERESTORY

(p. 150).



PLATE XXXV.

Photo : J. Gibbs m.

NAVE: INTERIOR, SOUTH WALL, SHOWING WALL-PASSAGE AND
WESTERN CLOISTER DOORWAY

(p. 151).



PLATE XXXVI.

NAVE: WINDOWS AND PASSAGE IN SOUTH WALL.
(p. 151).

Photo: J. H. Gough.



PLATE XXXVII.

Photo: J. H. Gough.

NAVE: INTERIOR, SOUTH-WEST CORNER, WITH WESTERN CLOISTER
DOORWAY AND WALL OF WEST RANGE OF CLOISTER

(pp. 151, 152).

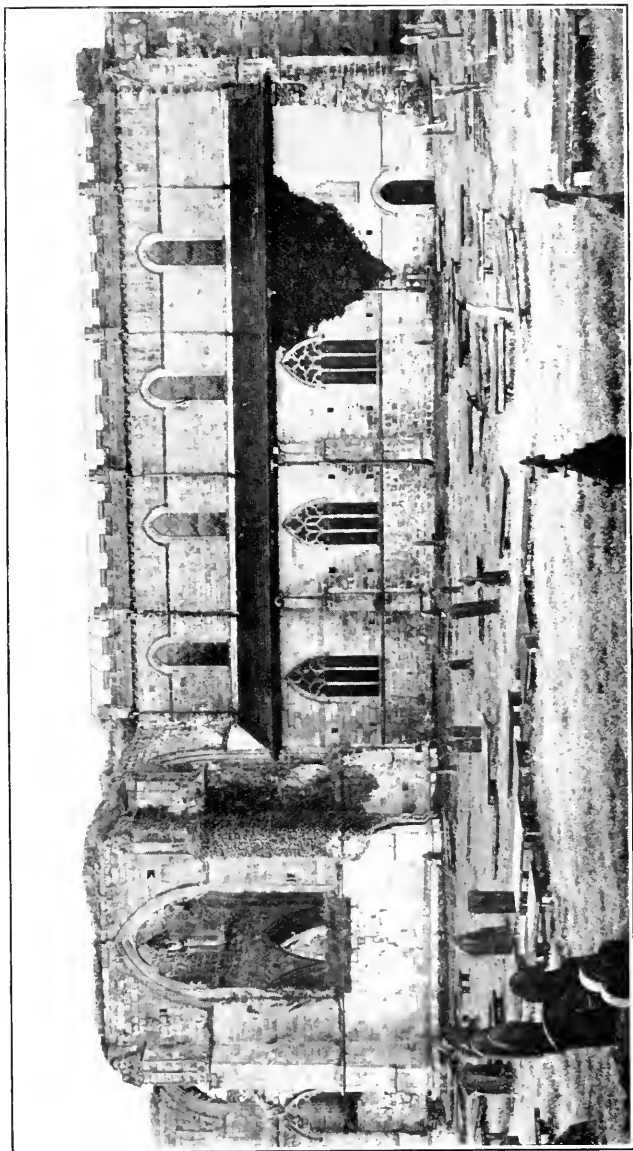


PLATE XXXVIII.

NAVE: NORTH AISLE AND CLERESTORY, EXTERIOR
 (pp. 152, 153).
 WITH NORTH TRANSEPT
 (p. 113).

Photo: J. H. Gough.

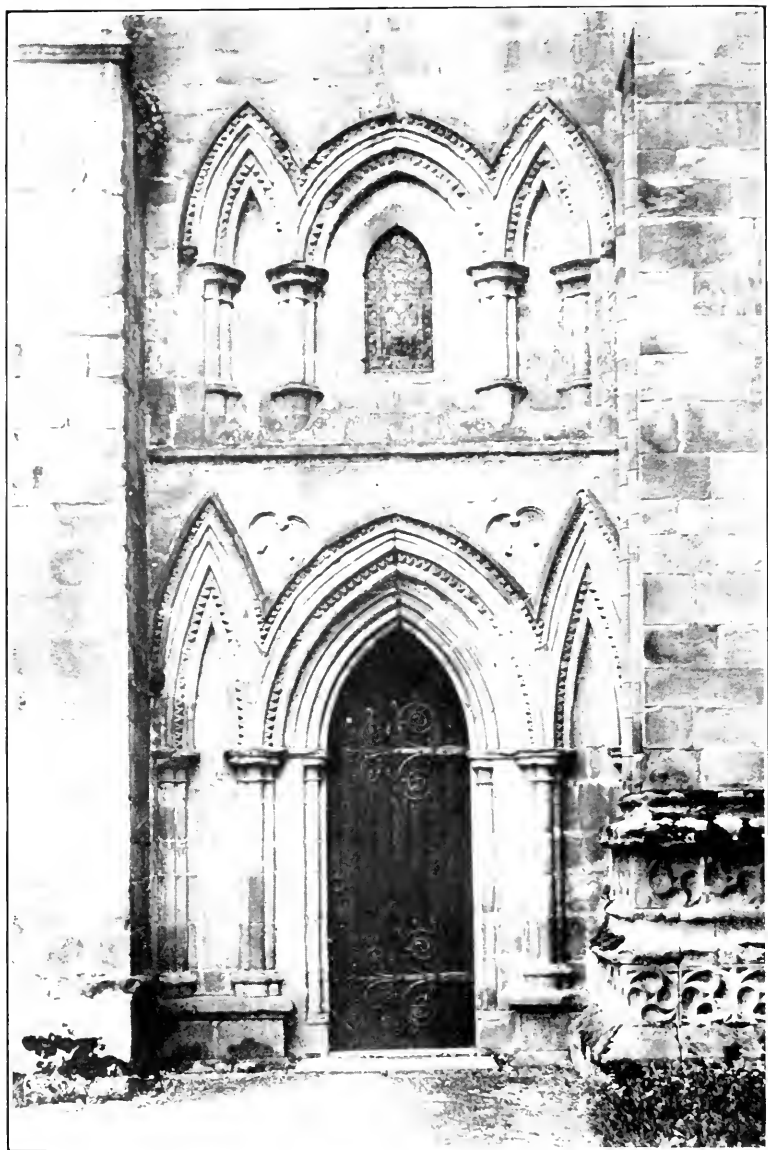


PLATE XXXIX.

Photo: J. H. Gough.

NORTH AISLE OF NAVE. WEST FRONT, WITH NORTH-WEST
BUTTRESS OF TOWER

(p. 152).



PLATE XL

Photo : J. H. Gough.

NORTH AISLE: NORTH DOORWAY AND NICHE

(p. 153).

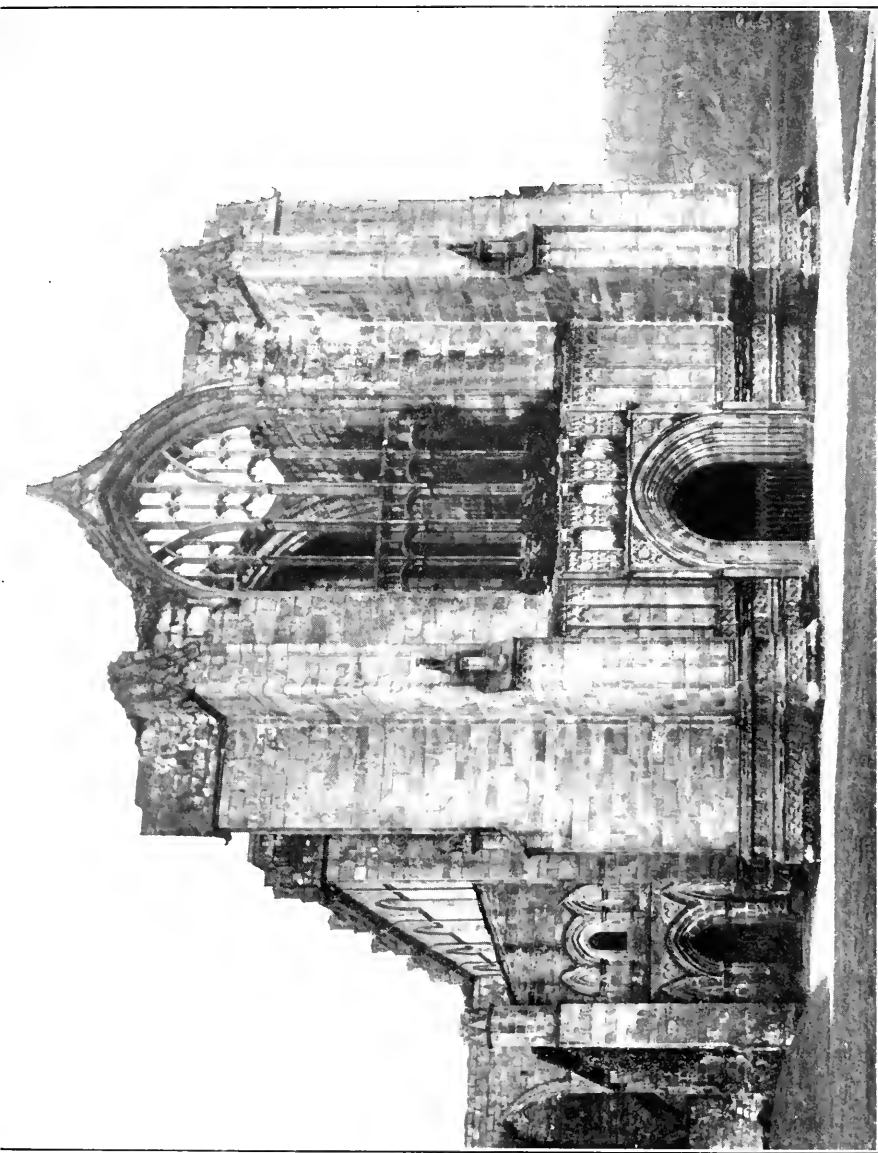


PLATE XLII.

WEST TOWER, FROM NORTH-WEST (p. 154).

Photo: J. H. Gough.

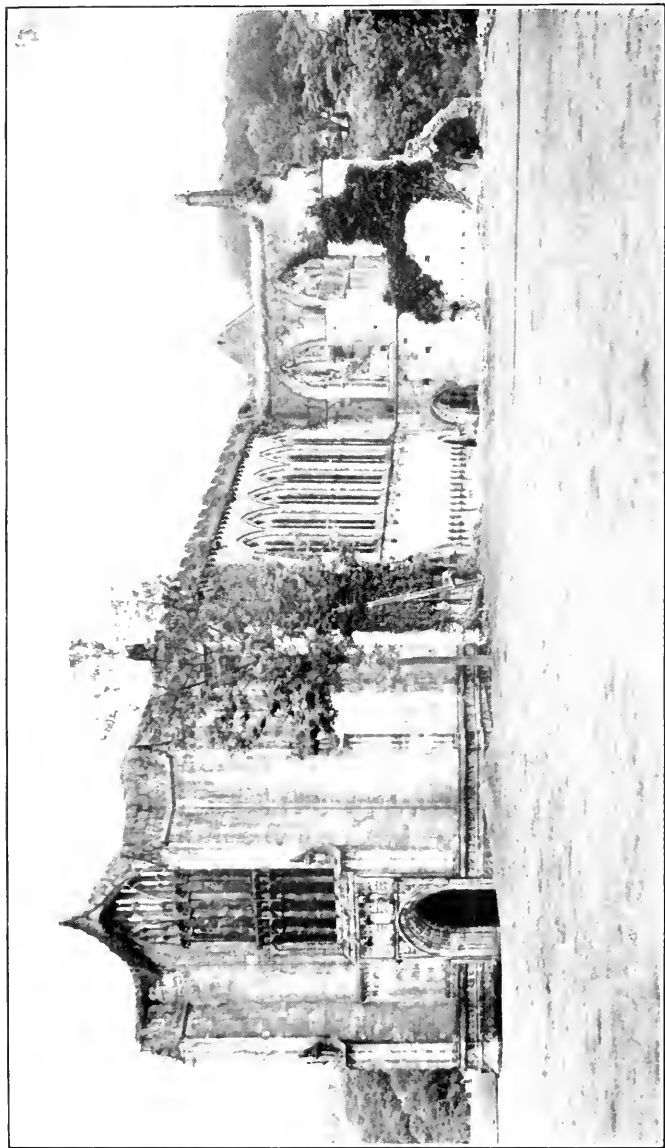


PLATE XLII.

WEST TOWER (p. 151), FROM SOUTH-WEST, SHOWING SITE OF
CLOISTER.

Photo: J. H. Gough.



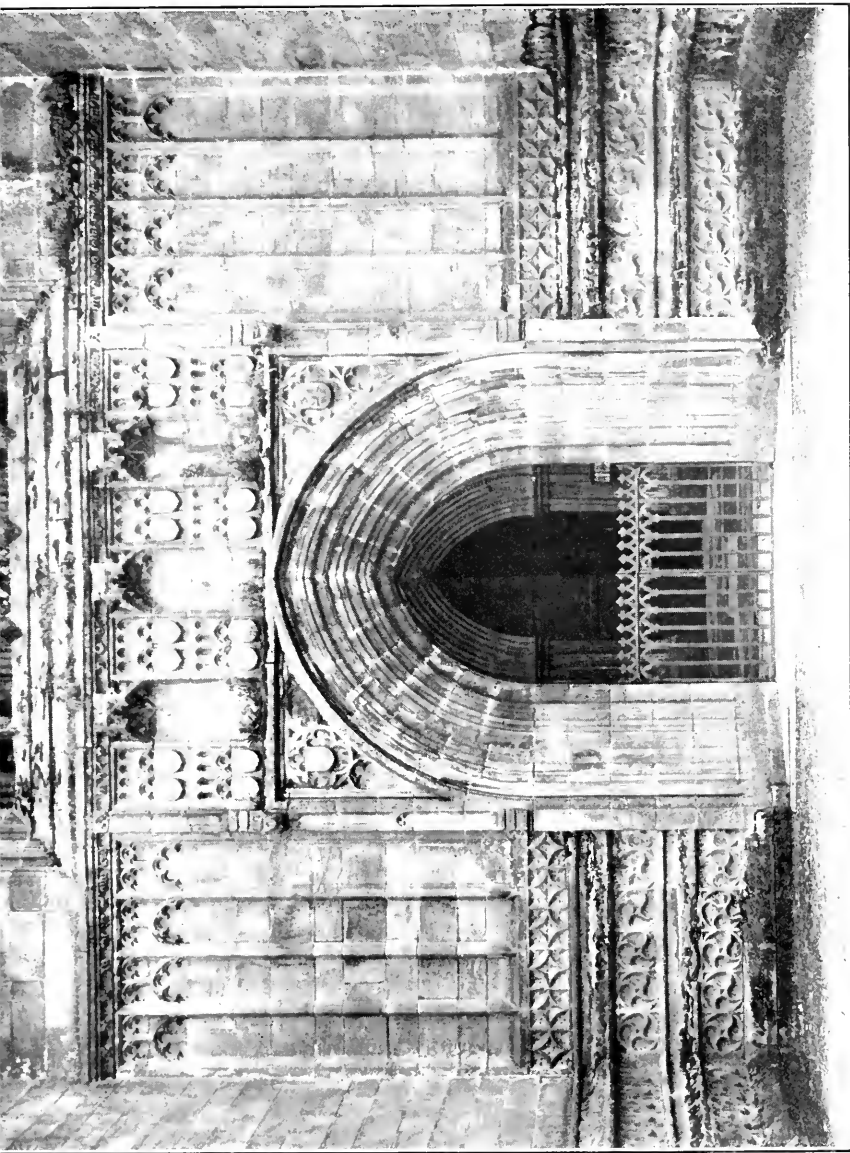
PLATE XLIII.

Photo: J. H. Gough.

WEST TOWER: SOUTH-WEST BUTTRESS

(p. 154).







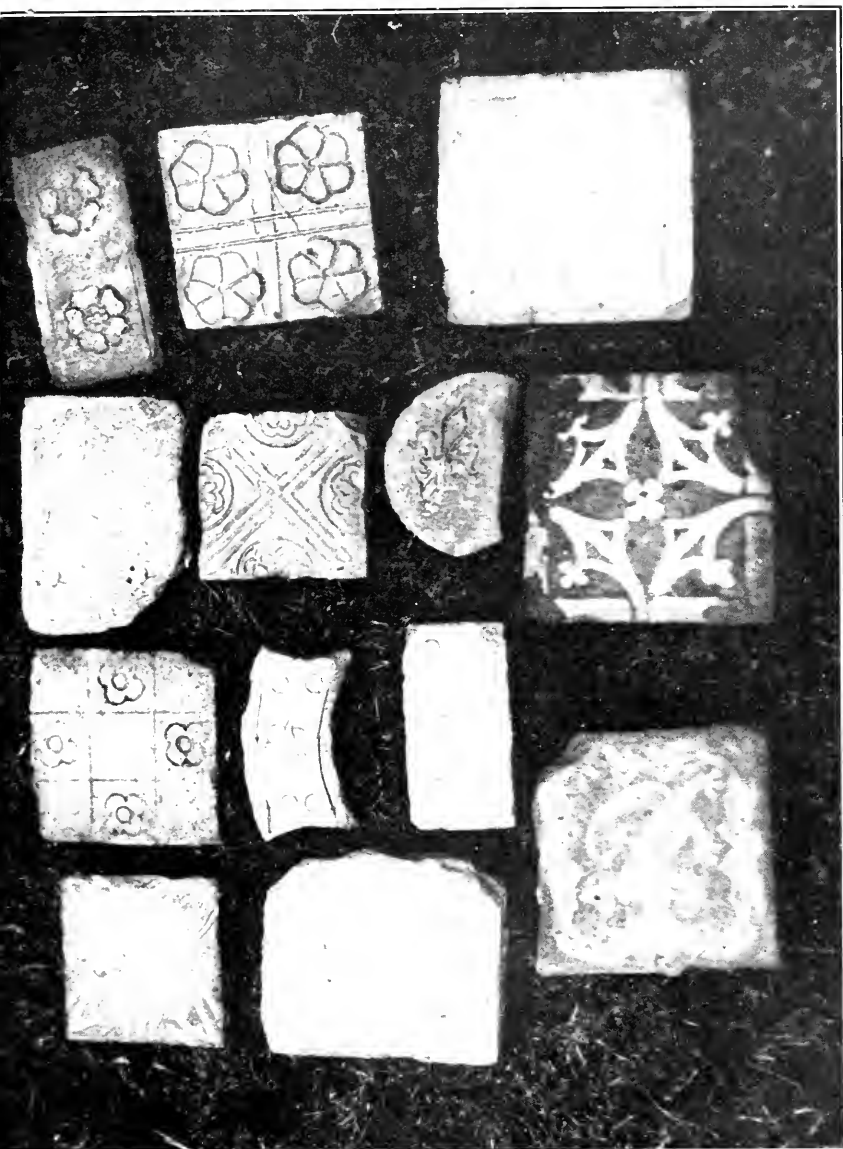


PLATE XLV

FLOOR-TILES FOUND IN EXCAVATION OF SOUTH FRANKFURT AND CROSSLER (p. 155)

Photo: Commercial Graphic Co., Bradford.



PLATE XLVI.

Photo: J. H. Gough.

NAVE: NORTH-EAST CORNER, SHOWING NORTH-WEST PIER OF CROSSING,
WITH CUT FOR ROOD-BEAM AND INSERTED 13TH-CENTURY CORBEL.

(p. 156).

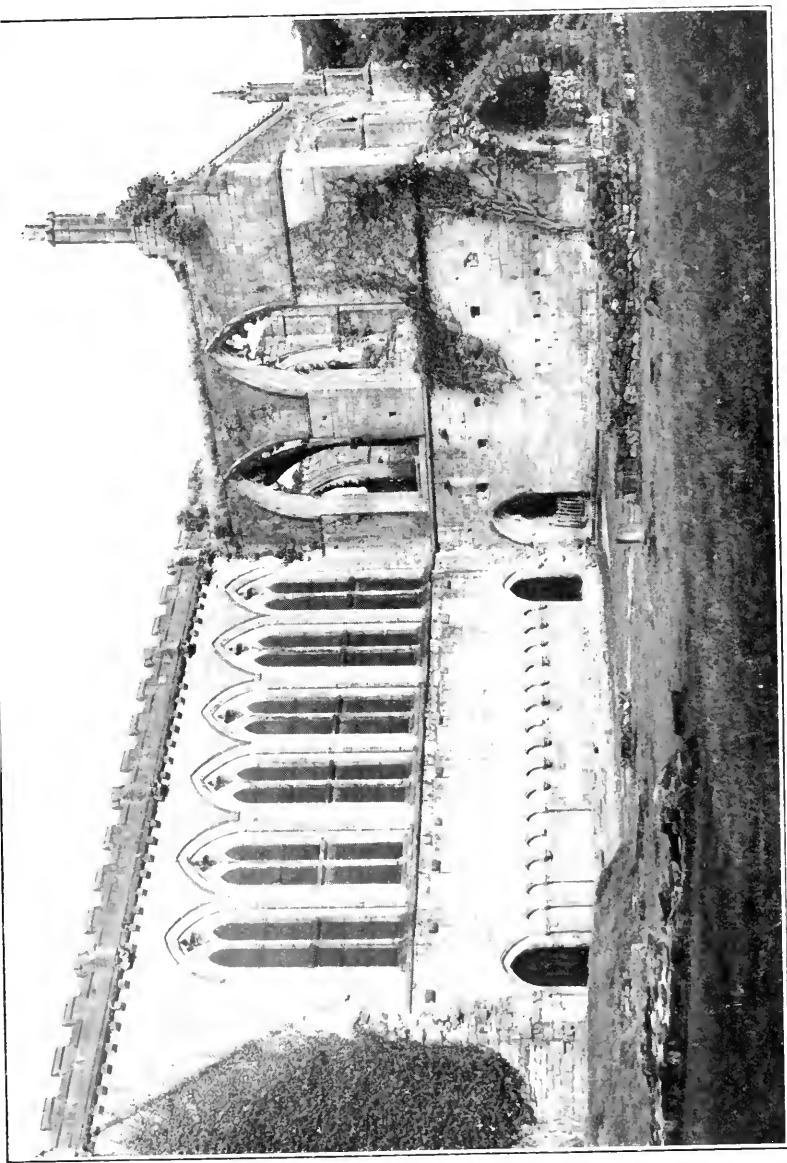


PLATE XLVII.

NAVE AND SOUTH TRANSEPT, WITH SITE OF CLOISTER (AS AT PRESENT)
[pp. 145, 147, 157].

Photo: J. H. Gough



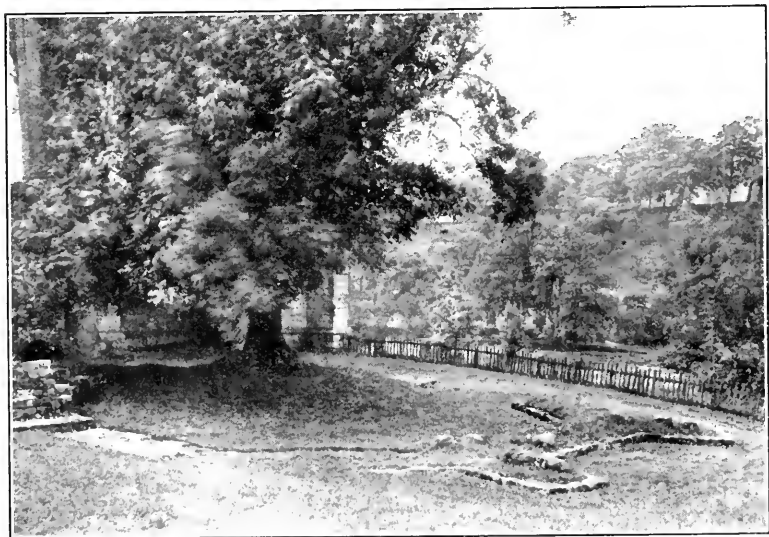
PLATE XLVIII.

Photo J. H. Gough.

ARCHWAY OF PASSAGE TO CHAPTER-HOUSE: EAST SIDE, WITH AREA
OF CLOISTER AND BOLTON HALL
(p. 158).



(1) EAST RANGE, SOUTH END:
BASE-COURSE OF 13TH-CENTURY WALL AND BUTTRESS (p. 194).



(2) FOUNDATIONS OF 14TH-CENTURY CHAPTER-HOUSE (p. 196)



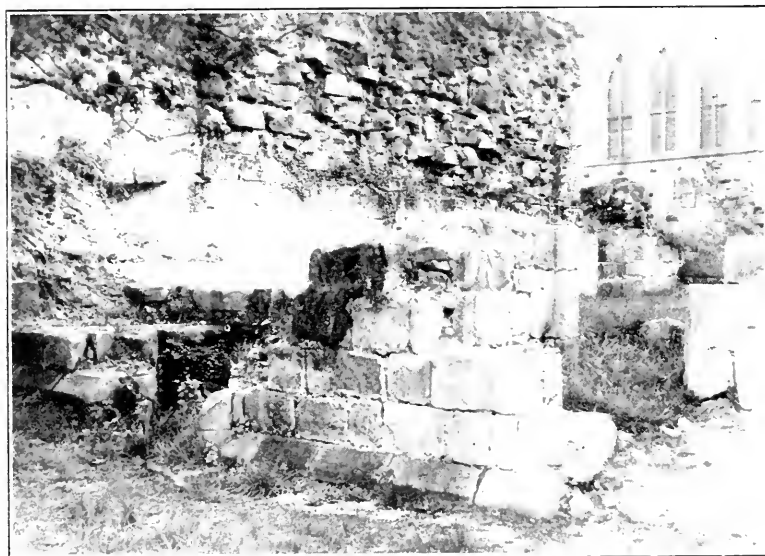
PLATE L.

Photo: J. H. Gough

THIRTEENTH-CENTURY BOSS, PROBABLY FROM VAULTING OF THE EARLIER
CHAPTER-HOUSE
pp. 155, 162).



(1) EXTENSION OF EAST RANGE: NORTH END, SHOWING BASE OF
13TH-CENTURY SOUTH WALL, WITH RERE-DORIER AND DRAIN
BEYOND, AND PARTITION WALL TO SOUTH
(pp. 105, 106).



(2) EXTENSION OF EAST RANGE: SOUTH END LOOKING NORTH-WEST
(p. 105).

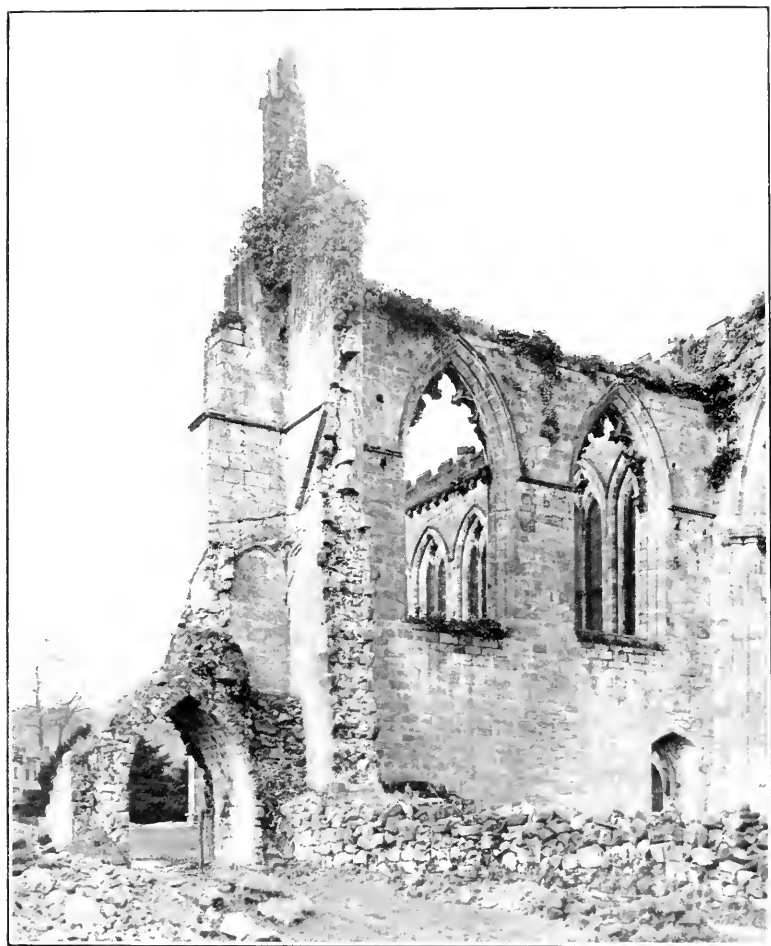
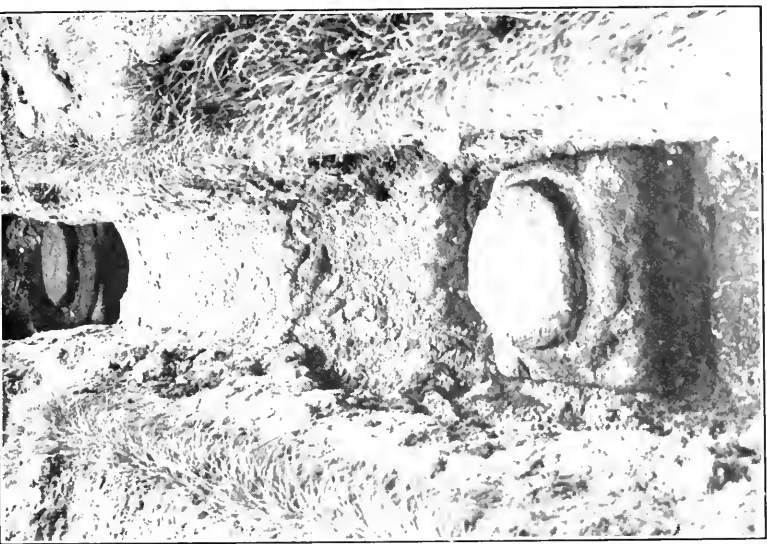


PLATE LII.

Photo: J. H. Gough

SOUTH TRANSEPT: WEST WALL (INTERIOR), WITH SOUTH-WEST
BUTTRESS, LINE OF DORTER ROOF AND REMAINS OF LOBBY
AND NIGHT-STAIR, ABOVE ARCHWAY TO CHAPTER-HOUSE
PASSAGE (pp. 146, 166).



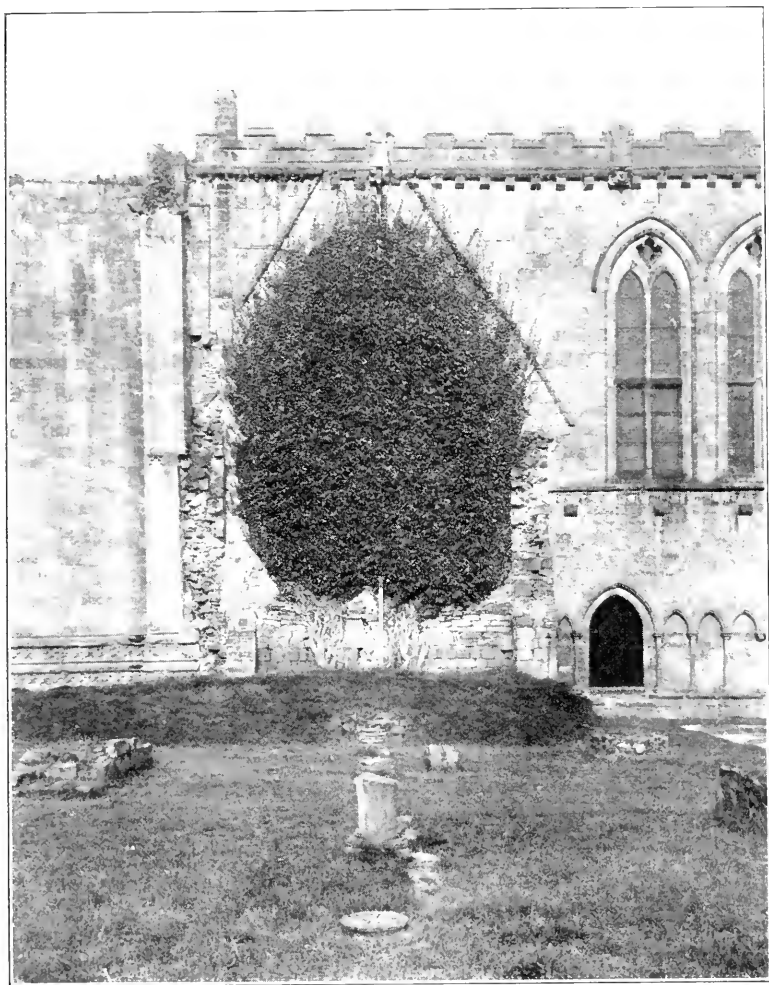


PLATE LIV.

Photo: J. H. Gough.

WEST RANGE OF CLOISTER: FOUNDATIONS, LOOKING NORTH, WITH
NORTH-WEST ANGLE OF INNER WALL OF CLOISTER TO RIGHT

(pp 157, 168).

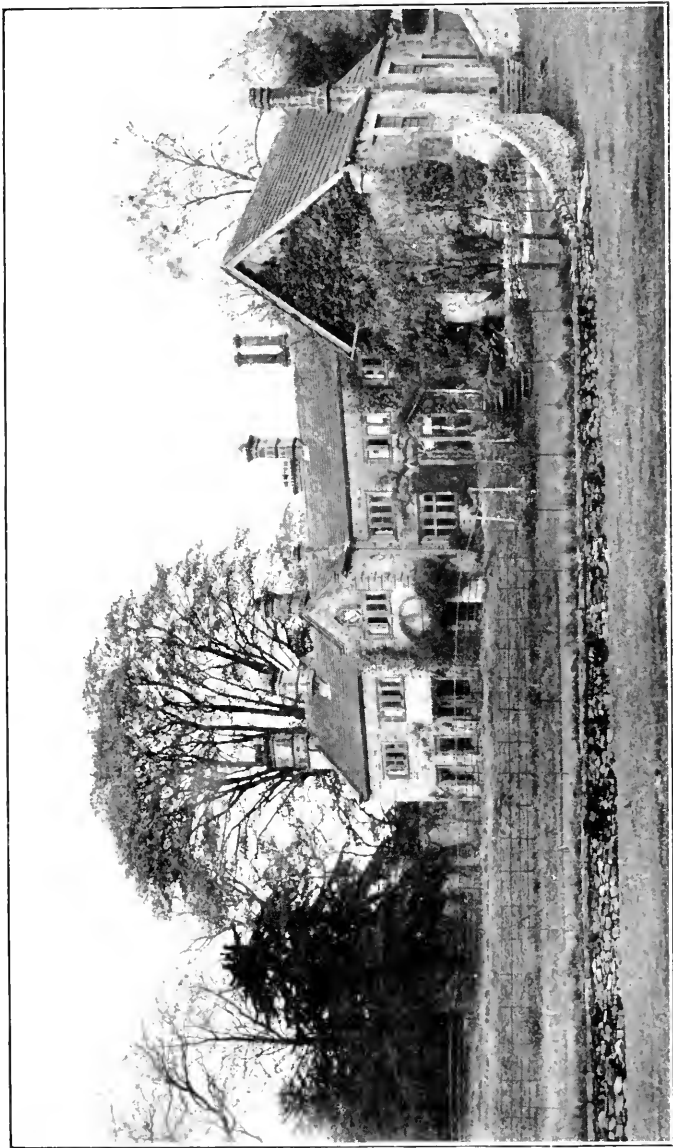


PLATE LA

RECTORY HOUSE (pp. 173, 174), WITH BOYLE ROOM, PROBABLY
PART OF INFIRMARY BUILDINGS (pp. 172, 173).

Photo: J. H. Gough.



PLATE LXL.

WINDOW AT NORTH END OF LOYLE ROOM BUILDING, WITH INSERTED DOORWAY.

Photo: J. H. Gough.
 (p. 172).

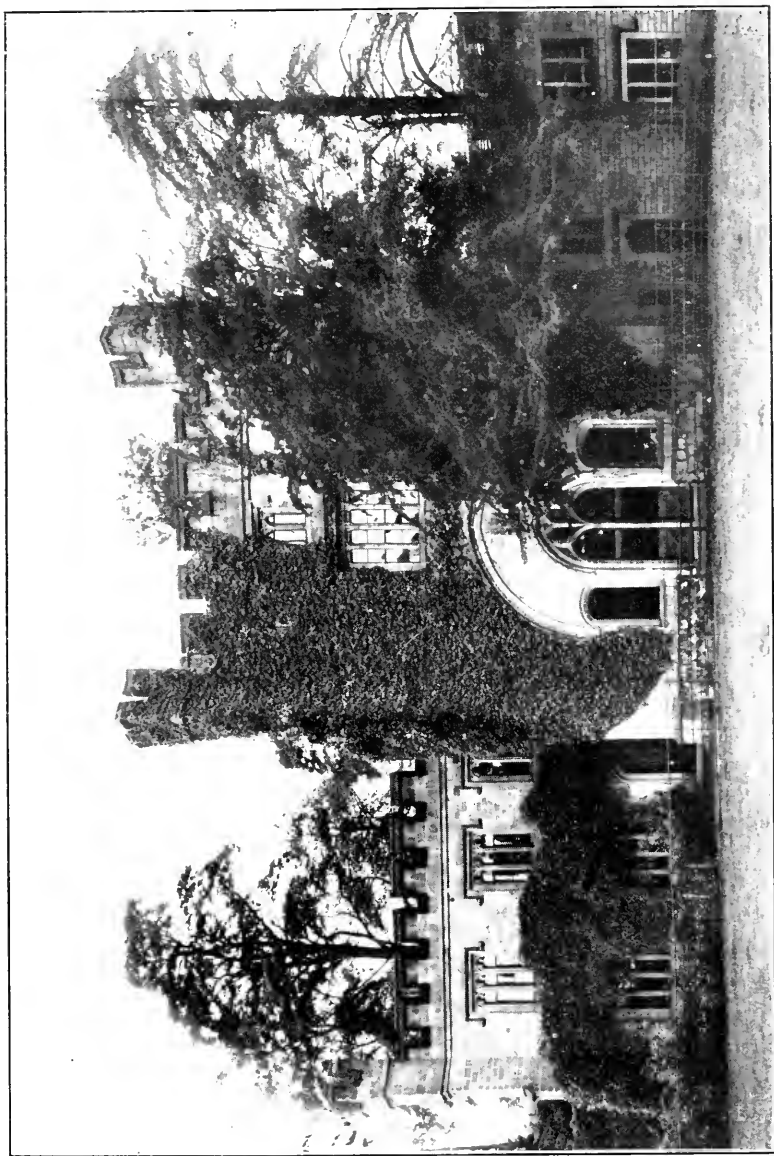


PLATE LVII.

BOLTON HALL: GATEHOUSE OF THE PRIORY, WITH MODERN WINGS
(pp. 174-178).

Photo: J. H. Gough.

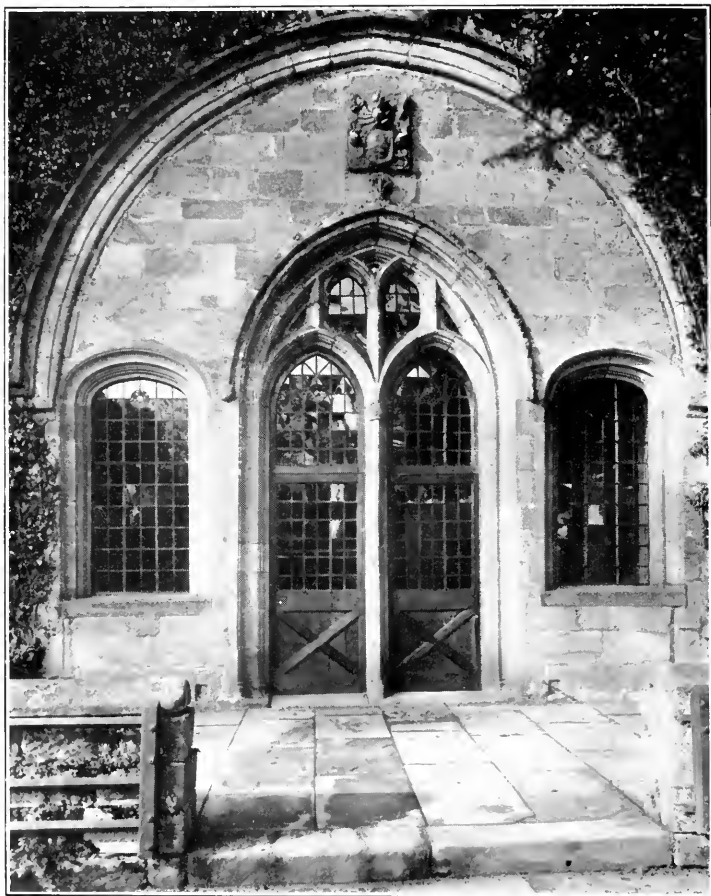


PLATE LVIII.

Photo: J. H. Gough

BOLTON HALL: EAST SIDE OF GATEHOUSE, WITH BLOCKED
ARCHWAY AND INSERTED DOORWAY FROM 14TH-CENTURY CHAPTER-HOUSE
(pp. 100, 101, 176).

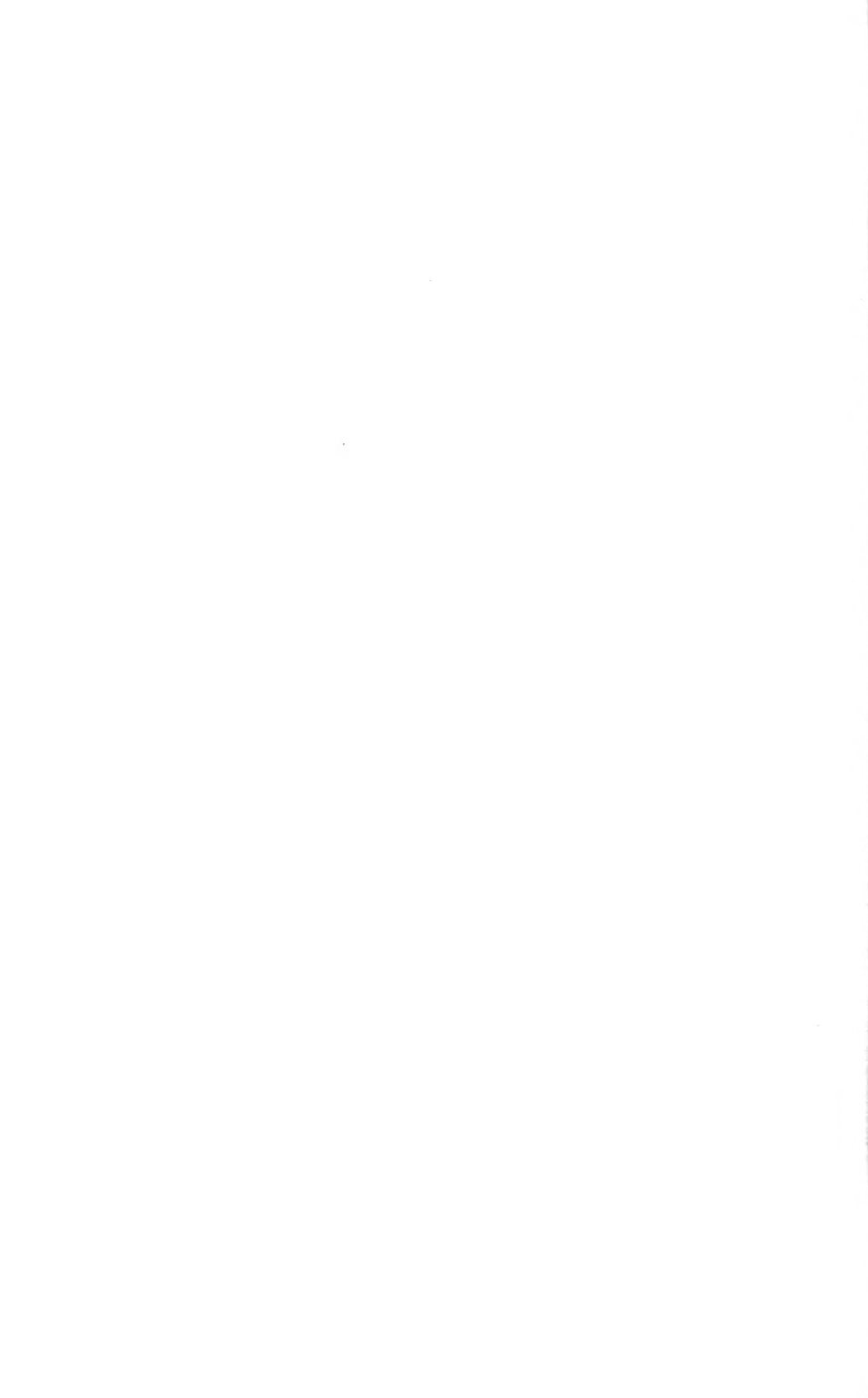




PLATE LIX

BOSTON HALL: INTERIOR OF GATEWAY, NOW DINING-ROOM,
WITH ARCHWAYS BETWEEN OUTER AND INNER HALLS (p. 179).

Photo J. H. Gough



PLATE IX. BOTTOM HALL. INTERIOR OF GATEWAY. NORTH SIDE OF. Photo. J. H. Gough.
 INTERIOR HALL WITH FOOT OF STAIR TO UPPER FLOOR AND DOORWAY TO PARTER'S LODGE. (p. 176)

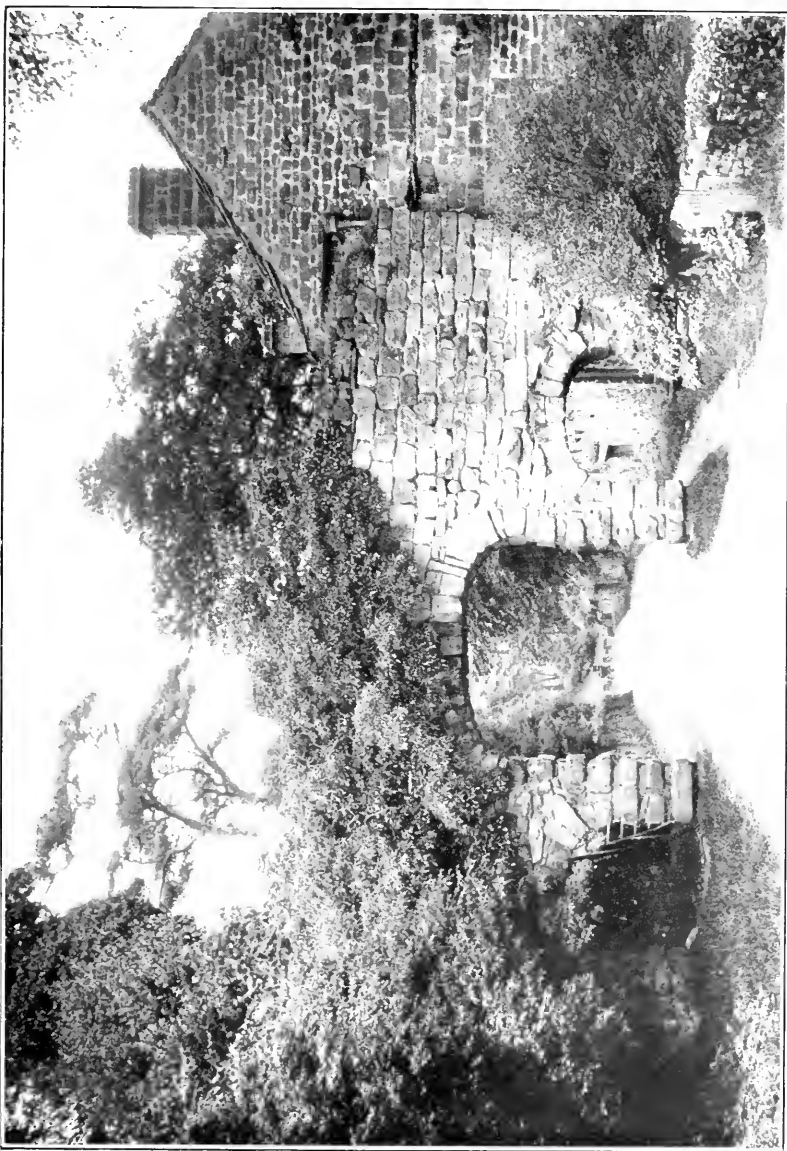


PLATE I. NI

MINI AND NOTED AT ARCHWAY
(p. 170)

Photo. J. H. Gough.

INDEX.

Abergavenny, Monm., priory, 148
 Achéry (d'), Luc, his edition of the
 Rule of St. Chrodegang, 6
 Ackworth, church of, 28-30
 Adam, lay brother, 116
 —, prior of Bolton, 61-2
 —, reeve of Embsay, 116, 118
 —, son of Suanus, 55-8
 —, stockman, 118, 126
 Addingham, Adyngham, 124
 Adlave: *see* Aldlaue
 Adwick-on-Deerne, church of, 28-9,
 33
 Adyngham: *see* Addingham
 Affeton (de), Richard, 61
 Ailric: *see* Sweyn
 Aire, river, 58, 93
 Airedale, 118, 124-7
 —, mills of, 117
 —, tithes of, 118
 Airmyrn, Adam of, 89
 —, William of, bishop of Norwich,
 89
 Airton, 85, 89, 114, 117, 119
 —, mills of, 117
 Aix-la-Chapelle, synod of, 5, 6
 Albemarle, earls and countesses of:
 see Aveline, Forz, Hawise
 —, honour of, 84, 89, 98
 Albini (de), Nigel, 26
 Aldgate, priory of Holy Trinity
 without: *see* London
 Aldlaue, Aldlave, Ralph, 25-6, 28:
 and see Athelulf
 Aldred, archbishop of York, 6
 — son of Ulfus, 55
 — — —, Ranerus brother of,
 55
 Aldyhtmyre, meadow called, 119
 Alexander II, pope, 7
 — IV, pope, 41
 —, abbot of Kirkstall, 56
 —, bishop of Lincoln, 16
 — son of Gerald, 60
 —, cellarer's groom, 125
 Alfric, archbishop of York, 6
 Algar the priest, 29
 All Saints, chapel of: *see* Tockwith
 Allertonshire, 78
 Alman, Adam, 90
 Alne, Thomas of, canon of Bolton,
 69, 70
 Alnwick, Northumberland, abbey,
 160
 Alwoodley, 55, 119
 —, mill of, 117
 Amalaricus, dean of Metz, 5

Ameseia: *see* Embsay
 Amundesham, Adam of, 70
 Amundeville (d'), Walter, 81
 —, William, 56
 Angram: *see* Augrum
 Aniane: *see* St. Benedict
Annales Monastici referred to, 18
 Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, 22
 Apelton, 121
 Appelton, William of, 87
 Appletreewick, manor of, 79-80, 84,
 88-9, 94, 100, 102, 113-4, 117
 —, Henry the smith of, 123
Archaeological Journal referred to, 35
 Arches, Archis (de), William, 28
 Arkyl, Walter, 126
 Arncliffe, 117
 —, Thomas of, 120, 126
 Arnforth, 82
 Arras (Pas-de-Calais), diocese of, 9
 Arrouaise (Pas-de-Calais), abbey and
 congregation of, 3, 9, 17, 24, 37
 Arthington Priory, 79
 Arthur, 51
 Aske, Christopher, 111
 Askelhale, Thomas of, 119
 Aspesiche, Aspesike, in Kildwick, 54,
 58
 Athelulf, prior of St. Oswald's and
 bishop of Carlisle, 26, 27: *see also*
 Aldlaue
 Atwick, church of, 34
 Aubrey son of Clibern, 57
 Auckland, co. Durham, collegiate
 church of, 23
 Augrum in Harewood, 61, 125, 127
 Augustinian, Austin Canons, 3 *sqq.*
 —, —, habit of, 3
 —, —, provincial chapters of, 9,
 38 *sqq.*: *see also* Salter
 Aumâle, count and countess of: *see*
 Blois, Cecily
 Aungie, le, house in York, 115
 Aurelius, bishop of Carthage, 14
 Austin Friars, 26
 Aveline, countess of Albemarle and
 Lancaster, 60, 66, 84
 Axholme, Isle of, 26
 Ayton, John of, 18

B

Bachampton, Richard of, prior of
 Bolton, 64-6
 Baildon, Yorks., W.R., 105: *see also*
 Smyth
 —, Richard of, 122

- Baildon, W. Paley, his *Monastic Notes* referred to, 106
- Bainbridge, Christopher, archbishop of York, 35, 111
- Bakhampton, Richard: *see* Bachampton
- Bamburgh, Northumberland, churches and priory of, 23, 27-9, 31
- Bancroft in Harewood, 61
- Bannockburn, battle of, 95
- Bardelby, Robert of, 84
- Barden, 57, 115, 125
- Beck, 56
- , Robert of, 88
- Barnwell Priory, Cambs., 8, 15, 19
- , —, chapters of canons held at, 43, 44
- , —, *Observances* of, referred to: *see* Clark
- , —: *see also* Frere
- Barkston Ash, Barston, wapentake of, 120
- Basset, William, canon of Bolton, vicar of Harewood, 100
- Bateman: *see* John
- Bath and Wells, bishop of: *see* Giffard
- Bathampton: *see* Bachampton
- Batley, church of, 28-9, 32-3
- Bayham Abbey, Sussex, 143, 160
- Bayonne (Basses-Pyrénées), merchants of, 81
- —: *see* Saut
- Beamsley, 93
- Beaulieu Abbey (*Bellus Locus*), Hants, 13
- Beaumes, Richard of, bishop of London, 16
- Beche, Richard, 124
- Bedford, church of St. Paul, 19
- Bek, Antony, bishop of Durham, 23, 76, 78
- Bellus Locus: *see* Beaulieu
- Belton-in-Axholme, Lincs., church of, 29, 37
- Bempton, chapel of, 34
- Benedict XII, pope, 42, 45
- , —, his constitutions for Austin canons, 42, 45-8
- Benedictine abbeys, exempt, 9
- Benet, abbot of Salley, 56
- Bentley, Robert of, 89, 91
- Berewick, 56: *see also* Berwick
- Bernardi, the, Italian merchants, 79
- Berwick, 93, 115, 124: *see also* Berewick
- Bessingby, church of, 34
- Betun (de), Baldwin, 60
- Beverley, collegiate church, 6, 10-11, 22-3
- Bichill: *see* Knaresborough
- Billingsforde, Richard, 115
- Bingley, church of, 35
- Birstall, church of, 31
- Bishop Burton, 92
- Bishopthorpe, 104
- Blackburn, William, canon of Bolton and vicar of Skipton, 111
- Blackburnshire, 90
- Blois, William of, count of Aumale and lord of Holderness, 60
- Blyth, Elias of, canon of Bolton, 69
- Bolton, Bolton-in-Wharfedale, Bolton Canons, 56-9, 74, 112-3, 125, 127
- , bridge of, 98
- , chapel of, 115
- , —, chaplain of, 115
- , granges of, 122
- , priory of, 1-2, 23, 34, 36-7, 50 *sqq.*
- , —, prior of, 41
- , —, canons of: *see* Alne, Basset, Blackburn, Blyth, Bolton, Bradford, Broc, Burdeux, Castell, Clay, Colton, Cromock, Driffild, Eston, Ferrou, Fountance, Gargrave, Halyfax, Hyll, Ingoldeby, Kidall, Kirkby, Knaresbrughe, Laund, Ledes, Leedes, Lisle, Lund, Malhom, Marshall, Menyngham, Nesfield, Otley, Otteley, Plompton, Pomfret, Pykeryng, Reyner, Richmond, Ripon, Rotherham, Rypon, Sallay, Selby, Thirneholm, Thweng, Walker, Wath, Wetherby, Wilkes, Wintringham
- , —, priors of: *see* Adam, Bachampton, Boston, Catton, Coppeley, Farnhill, Grene, Harton, Hog, John, Laund, Lawrence, Lofthouse, Lund, Man, Moone, Ottelay, Otteley, Robert, Thomas, Wilson, Wood
- Bolton, John, canon of Bolton, 112
- Bolton Percy, church of, 28, 32
- Boniface VIII, pope, 41
- Boroughbridge, 35
- Bosham, Sussex, church of, 20
- Boston, Lincs., fair, 97, 119, 121, 123
- Boston, Thomas, prior of Bolton, 106-8
- Bothe, William, archbishop of York, 107
- Bourne Abbey, Lincs., 3, 9, 24, 37
- , —, abbot of: *see* John
- Bowet, Henry, archbishop of York, his register referred to, 105, 106
- Boyle, Charles, earl of Burlington, 174
- , Elizabeth, countess of Burlington, 115
- , Richard, earl of Cork and Burlington, 115

- Boyle, Richard, first earl of Cork and third earl of Burlington, 115-16
 —, Robert, 174
 Boynton, church of, 34
 Brackley, Northants., 84
 Bradeley, John of, 103
 —, —, Mariote wife of, 103
 —, —, Thomas of, 103
 —, —, Agnes wife of, 103
 Bradescahe, Bradescagh, 122, 125
 Bradford, 114: *see also* Wilkinson
 Bradford, Bradeford, John of, canon of Bolton, 79, 126
 Bradley, 115, 117
 —, —, Upper and Lower, mill of, 85
 —, —, Stephen of, vicar of Skipton, 71
 Bradsole, Kent, abbey of St. Rade-gund, 160
 Bramham, church of, 27, 30
 —, —, prebend of, in York Minster, 31
 Brandon, 55, 61, 75, 102, 113-5, 117
 Brandon, Charles, duke of Suffolk, 111
 Breedon-on-the-Hill, Langelega, Leices., priory, 28
 Breerton, Richard of, 100
 —, —, Agnes, wife of, 100; *see also* Profit
 Bridlington, 34
 —, priory, 1, 23, 34-6, 38, 40, 44, 135
 —, —, chapters of canons held at, 40
 —, —, *Chartulary of* (ed. Lancaster), referred to, 23
 —, —, prior of, 39
 Briggends, 115
 Brigwath, bridge of, 98
 Brinkburn Priory, Northumberland, 143, 148, 156, 159
 Bristol, abbey of St. Augustine, 3, 143, 146, 156, 162
 —, church of the Holy Trinity (Christchurch), 20
 Broc, Nicholas, subprior of Bolton, 64
 Bromyard, Herefords., church of, 11
 Broughton-in-Craven, 115, 118, 121, 124, 127
 —, church of, 56, 62, 100-8, 113-5, 120, 125
 —, —, rector of, 98
 —, —, vicar of: *see* Ledes
 Bruno, bishop of Toul: *see* Leo IX
 Brynsale-in-Craven: *see* Burnsall
 Buckingham, earl of: *see* Giffard
 Burdeux, Robert, canon of Bolton, 112
 Burghley, 117, 126
 Burgundy, Cistercian architecture in, 138
 Burlington, earls of: *see* Boyle
 —, Richard, 65: *see also* Bachampton
 Burnsall, Brynsale-in-Craven, church of, 53, 75
 Burton, John, *Monasticon Eboracense* referred to, 25, 95
 Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, 62
 Burythorpe, church of, 36
 Byland Abbey, 1, 139, 152
- C
- Calendar of Ancient Deeds*, referred to, 100
 — — — *Charter Rolls* referred to, 59, 75, 80, 83
 — — — *Close Rolls* referred to, 76-9, 81, 83-4, 89, 94, 99, 102
 — — — *Fine Rolls* referred to, 78, 89, 103
 —, —, *Papal Letters* referred to, 10, 20, 35, 38, 102, 104-5, 108
 — — — *Patent Rolls* referred to, 49, 60-1, 66, 70, 76-7, 79, 81, 83-5, 88, 90-2, 94, 99-101, 103, 105-6, 109
 Calton, Yorks., W.R., 85, 89, 114, 117: *see also* Lambert
 Calverley, W. of, 97
 Calwich Priory, Staffs., 9
 Cambrai, canon of: *see* Vezano
 Cambridge, church of St. Giles, 15
 Canterbury, archbishops of: *see* Anselm, Cranmer, Lanfranc, Langham
 —, cathedral church, 20
 —, —, priory of Christchurch, 20
 Carcolston, Notts., church of, 34
 Carham, Northumberland, church of, 28
 Carlisle, Cumb., bishops of: *see* Athelulf, Halton
 —, —, cathedral church and priory of, 23, 38, 40-1, 44, 168
 —, —, —, prior of, 44
 —, —, *see* of, 23
 Carlton-in-Craven, 85, 114, 118, 122, 124-5, 127
 —, chapel of, 50, 52, 58, 77-8, 83, 86-7, 90, 104, 108, 113, 115
 —, grange of, 90
 Carnaby, church of, 34
 Carthage, bishop of: *see* Aurelius
 Carthusian order, 9
 Cartmel, Lanes., 125
 Castell, Thomas, canon of Bolton, 112
 Castley, mill of, 117, 126
 Catton, 112

- Catton, Robert, prior of Bolton, 105,
 106
 Cavendish, Charlotte, marchioness of
 Hartington, 116
 —, Victor, duke of Devonshire, 116
 —, William, duke of Devonshire,
 116
 Cawood, 75
 Cecily, countess of Aumâle, 60
 Celestine III, pope, 51
 Charetter (le), John, 94
 Charité (La) -sur-Loire (Nièvre), 24
 Charles the Great, emperor, 7
 Charwelton, Northants., church of, 28
 Chebsey, Staffs., church of, 28
 Cheddington, Bucks., church of, 28
 Chelsea, Middlesex, 106
 Chester-le-Street, co. Durham, 53
 —, —, collegiate church of, 23
 Chetwode, Bucks., priory, 19
 Chichester, bishop of, 20: *see also*
 Hilary
 Childeuic: *see* Kildwick
 Chilton, Bucks., church of, 17
 Christchurch (Twynham), Hants.,
 lordship of, 21
 — —, —, priory church, 20-1
 — —, —, deans and canons
 of: *see* Flambarð, Gilbert, Godric,
 Hilary, Oglander,
Chronicles of the Reign of Stephen
 (Rolls Ser.) referred to, 26
Chronicon de Melsa referred to, 159
 — *Pontificum Eboracensium* re-
 ferred to, 6, 22
 Cirencester Abbey, Glouces., 3
 Cistercian order, 8, 9, 130, 160, 163
 Cîteaux (Côte-d'Or), abbey of, 15
 Clare (de), Maud: *see* Clifford
 Clark, J. W., his *Observances of Barn-*
well Priory referred to,
 8
 —, —: *see Fasciculus*
 Clay (du), Arnold, canon of Bolton, 69
 Clementhorpe Priory, 63
 Clethop: *see* Clithop
 Cleveland, archdeacon of, 51
 Clibern, Cliburn: *see* Aubrey, Hal-
 dred
 Clifford, arms of, 154, 175
 —, barony of, 116
 —, family of, 95
 —, Anne, countess of Dorset, 115
 —, Eleanor, countess of Cumber-
 land, 111
 —, Francis, earl of Cumberland,
 115
 —, George, earl of Cumberland, 115
 —, Henry, earl of Cumberland, 111
 —, —, fifth earl of Cumberland,
 115
 —, John, Lord, 104
 Clifford, Robert, first Lord, 60, 95
 —, —, Maud (de Clare), wife of,
 95
 —, Thomas, Lord, 106
 Clifton (near York), 113, 115
 Clithop, Clethop, 121, 126
 Cluny (Saône-et-Loire), abbey and
 order of, 15
 —, abbot of: *see* St. Odo
 Cockeholm, 117
 Cockermouth, Cumb., manor of, 84
 Cockersand Abbey, Lancs., 160
 Colchester, Essex, church of St.
 Leonard, 14
 —, priory of St. Botolph, 9, 13-6,
 19
 —, —, prior of: *see* Ernulf
 Cold Coniston, 100
Collectanea Anglo-Praemonstratensia
 referred to, 18
 Collinghead, 115
 Colton, Thomas, canon of Bolton and
 vicar of Kildwick, 108
Compendium Compertorum, 111
 Compton Abdale, Glouces., 76
 Cononley, Cuneld, 58, 85, 89, 98, 113
 —5, 117-8, 121-2, 124-6, 128
 Coppelay, Coppeley, Thomas of,
 canon, afterwards prior of Bolton,
 91, 98-9
 Corbridge, Thomas of, archbishop of
 York, 11, 31, 76, 79, 80, 82, 86, 95
 Cork, earl of: *see* Boyle
 Cornwall, earl of: *see* Gavaston
 —, *see* of: 13
Corpus juris Canonici, references to,
 18, 31, 41, 45
 Cotcheng (le), meadow at Skipton,
 125
 Cottenne, Coppe, 119
 Cottingham, church of, 37
 —, priory: *see* Haltemprice
 Coventry and Lichfield, bishop of:
see Langton
 Coverham, 93
 — abbey, 106
 Coxwold, church of, 34
 Cracoe, 74, 89, 115, 117
 Crambe, church of, 34
 Cranmer, Thomas, archbishop of
 Canterbury, 111
 Crathorne, 37
 —, church of, 36
 Craven, 99
 —, Gil. of, 120
 —, Juliane of, 92, 120
 —, William of, 84
 —, jury of, 120
 —, woods and chases in, 58-9
 Creake Abbey, Norfolk, 3
 Crecy, battle of, 99

Crediton, Devon, *see of*, 13
 Crockbain, H., 117: *see also* Crokebayn
 Croft, G. R., 25
 Crofton, le Calvefal of, 125
 Crokebayn, John, son of Robert, 117
 Crokeris, 57
 Cromock, John, canon of Bolton, 112
 Cromwell, Thomas, earl of Essex, 112
 Crossekelde, 56
 Croxley, John of, 126
 Cumberland, earl of: *see* Clifford
 Cuneld: *see* Cononley
 Curcy (de), Alice: *see* Rumilly
 —, William, 55
 Cynesige, archbishop of York, 6

D

Dale Abbey, Derbyshire, 160
 Danby-in-Cleveland, church of, 34
 Danfeld, William of: *see* Tanfield
 Darley Abbey, Derbyshire, 3
 Darlington, co. Durham, 78
 —, —, deanery of, 78
 David I, king of Scots, 54
 Deerstones, 93, 115
 Desert, William, 80
 Devon, countess of: *see* Forz
 —, earl of, 60
 Devonshire, dukes of: *see* Cavendish
 Dijon (Côte-d'Or), abbey of St. Bénigne, 6
 Dimmok (de), Robert, 61
 Dinnington, Thomas of, 70
 Dogthorpe, 85
 Domesday Book, 10, 112
 Dorchester, Oxon., abbey, 3, 9, 16-9, 48
 —, —, *see of*, 16, 17
 Dover, Kent, 76
 —, —, church of St. Mary, 20
 —, —, priory, 20
 Drakes, Thomas, of Halifax, 114
 Draughton, Yorks., W.R., 93, 115, 117, 126
 Drax Priory, Yorks., W.R., 24, 35-6, 39-40, 91
 —, —, —, prior of, 40, 42
 Drew the scribe, 55
 Driffield, John of, canon of Bolton, 91
 Dronfield, Derbyshire, church of, 135
 Dryburgh Abbey, Berwicks., 143
 Ducange, Charles Dufresne, seigneur, his *Glossarium* referred to, 6
 Dudde, 124
 Dugdale, Sir W.: *see* *Monasticon*
 Duncan II, king of Scots, 54
 —, —, William, son of: *see* William Fitz Duncan
 Dunkeswick, 55
 Dunstable, Beds., priory, 18
 —, —, —, prior of, 43

Durham, bishop of: *see* Bek, Flambard, Kellaw, Ste-Barbe
 —, cathedral church of, 21, 53, 160
 —, diocese of, 23
 —, synod at, 28
 —, Treasury at, 53
 Dysford, W. of, carpenter, 122

E

Eanwulf: *see* Ernulf
 Easby Abbey, 143
 Easington, church of, 36
 Eastburn, 113-5, 117
 Eastby, 74, 89, 93, 102, 106, 113-4, 115, 117, 119, 125
 East Hatfield, 84
 — Keswick, 55
 — Riding, archdeacon of, 104
 Ecclesfield, church of, 35
 Edington, Wilts., house of Bonshommes and priory, 49
 Edington, William, bishop of Winchester, 49
 Edmund, earl of Lancaster, 60
 Edward the Confessor, king of England, 12
 — 1, king of England, 59, 94
 — 11, king of England, 58, 60, 84, 90, 94, 96
 — 111, king of England, 80, 94, 99
 — the chamberlain, 57
 Egremont: *see* William
 Eleanor, sister of Edward 111, 99
 Eleshaw, Adam of, 129
 Elias the brewster, 124
 — the long, 124
 Elsulph: *see* Richard
 Ely, bishop of: *see* Hotham
 Embsay, Ameseia, 50, 52, 57-8, 74-5, 93, 98, 102, 105, 111, 117, 127
 —, chapel of St. Cuthbert, 53, 94, 98
 —, fair at, 59
 —, grange of, 90
 —, priory, 23, 50-9, 78, 83, 89, 92, 107, 112-5, 127, 131, 159
 —, —, prior of: *see* Reynald
 —, reeve of, 126: *see also* Adam
 Emperors: *see* Charles, Henry, Lewis
 Engerramus: *see* Robert
 England, kings of: *see* Edward, Harold, Henry, Stephen, William
 —, queen of: *see* Maud
 Eremitarum Sancti Augustini, Ordo: *see* Austin Friars
 Ernulf, Eynulf, Eanwulf, provost of St. Botolph's, Colchester, 13
 Eshton, 121
 —, James of, 79-80, 84, 120

Eshton, John son of John of, 85, 89
 Espec, Walter, 24, 60
 Essex, earl of: *see* Cromwell
 Essulf: *see* Jordan
 Eston, Ralph of, subprior of Bolton,
 64
 Etal, Northumberland, 77
 Eustace the sheriff, 54
 Everard, mason, 50
 Exeter, bishops of: *see* Leofric,
 Warelwast
 —, Devon, cathedral church, 6, 10,
 13
 —, —, *see* of, 20
 Eynulf: *see* Ernulf

F

Faisington, Roger: *see* Fasiton
 Fannel: *see* Fauvel
 Farnhill, John, prior of Bolton and
 vicar of Skipton, 105, 106
 Farnhill, 58, 85, 89, 113-4, 117; *see*
 also Fernhil
 Farrer, W., his *Early Yorkshire Char-*
ters referred to, 15, 23-31, 51, 53-6
Fasciculus J. W. Clark dicatus re-
 ferred to, 8
 Fasiton, Faisington, Roger, 55
 Fauvel, Fannel, Everard, 96
 —, Hamo, 57
 —, Richard, 121
 Featherstone, church of, 24-5, 28-9,
 31, 33
 Felkirk, church of, 28-9, 32-3
 Felley Priory, Notts., 40
Feoda Militum referred to, 89
 Fernhil, Adam of, 57
 Ferrour, Thomas, canon of Bolton
 and vicar of Skipton, 105
Feudal Aids referred to, 75, 89, 99,
 106
 Feysergh, J. of, 126
 Filey, church of, 34
 Fitzherbert, William: *see* St. William
 Flamang, William: *see* Fleming
 Flambard, Ranulf, bishop of Durham,
 20-1
 Flamborough, church of, 34
 Fleming, Flamang, William, 57-8
 Fleury (Loiret), abbey of, 6
 Ford, 74
 Forest, the, 93-4
 Forz (de, des), Isabel (de Redvers),
 countess of Devon and
 Albemarle, 60-2, 68, 75,
 77
 — — —, William I, II, III, earls
 of Albemarle, 60, 85
 Fossard, Robert, 27, 31
 Fotheringhay, Northants., college
 of, 7

Foune, Thomas, 94
 Fountains Abbey, 1, 22, 84, 119,
 146, 152, 155, 163
 —, —, abbot of, 84, 104
Fountains, Memorials of, referred to, 22
 Fountance, Thomas, canon of Bolton,
 112
 Fowler, J. T., his *Memorials of Ripon*
 referred to, 11
 Frere, W. H., bishop of Truro, his
 essay on Barnwell Priory referred
 to, 8, 19
 Friars, orders of, 9
 Frithelstoke Priory, Devon, 9
 Furness Abbey, Lancs., abbot of, 126

G

Gallia Christiana referred to, 8
 Ganton, church of, 34
 Gaole (de la), John, 88
 Garford, Edward, of Kildwick, 114
 —, —, Roger, son of, 114
 Gargrave, 85, 115-7, 119-20, 122, 126
 —, Lawrence of, canon of Bolton,
 105-6
 —, rector of, 98
 Gavaston, Piers, earl of Cornwall, 80,
 84, 96
 Geoffrey Plantagenet, archbishop of
 York, 18, 51
 Gerald: *see* Alexander
 Gerbod son of Adelin, 28
 Gervais, archbishop of Reims, 8
 Giffard, Walter, bishop of Bath and
 Wells and archbishop
 of York, 18, 62, 71, 93
 —, —, earl of Buckingham, 17
 Giglygg, William, 124
 Gilbert, dean of Christchurch, 21
 —, hermit of Healaugh Park, 36
 —, John, bishop of Hereford, his
 register referred to, 11
 Gilbertine Order: *see* Sempringham.
 Gildeflat, 84
 Gildusflat, 117, 126
 Gile (del), Raymond, 117
 Gilfrid, master, 120: *see also* Vezano
 Giliott, Sir John, 119
 Gisburn, 105
 Gloucester, abbey of St. Peter, 160
 —, priory of St. Oswald, 22, 23
 Glusburn, 113, 114, 117
 Godric, canon of Christchurch, 20, 21
 Gospatric: *see* Simon
 Goydcher, 121
 Granby, Notts., 93
 Grancete, James of, 102
 Gravesend, Richard, bishop of Lin-
 coln, *Rotuli* referred to, 35
 Gray (de), Walter, archbishop of
 York, 30-3, 36, 62

Great Ponton, Lincs., church of, 155
 Greenfield, William, archbishop of
 York, 41, 85-8, 135
 Greenwood, Thomas, vicar-general of
 Archbishop Bowet, 106
 Gregory VII, pope, 8
 Grene, Robert, prior of Bolton, 104,
 105
 Gressham, Sir Richard, 115
 Grimsby Abbey: *see* Wellow
 Grindall, chapel of, 34
 Grinton, church of, 35
 Grove (le), 84
 Gueldres, count of, 90
 Guisbrough, parish church, 34
 —, priory, 1, 23-4, 34-6, 38, 40, 44,
 91, 109, 135
 —, —, chapters of Austin canons
 held at, 39
 —, —, *Chartulary of* (ed. Brown),
 referred to, 24, 40, 135
 —, —, prior of, 39, 43, 44, 51
 Guiseley, 80
 Gunwall, John, 120, 128
 Gylderflathowe in Hellinfield, 114: *see*
 also Gildesflat, Gildusflat
 Gylemyn, William, 116

H

H., chaplain, 50
 Haget, Alice, wife of Jordan of St.
 Mary's, 36
 —, Bertram, 36
 —, —, Geoffrey, son of, 36
 Haldred son of Cliburn, 59
 Hales, Sir Christopher, 114
 Halesowen Abbey, Worces., 146
 Halifax, 114: *see* Drakes
 Haltemprise, Hautenprise, priory,
 24, 29, 36-7
 Halton, Yorks., W.R., 56, 59, 74, 83,
 85, 89, 93, 102, 106,
 113-4, 117, 122, 128
 —, —, grange of, 90, 114
 —, —: *see* Ridings
 Halton, John, bishop of Carlisle, 40-1
 Halyfax, John, canon of Bolton, 112
 Hambleton, William of, archdeacon
 and dean of York, 77, 79, 84, 120,
 126, 128
 Hameldune, 56
 Hamelton (de), W. de: *see* Hamble-
 ton
 Hamelton, G. of, 118
 Handbaud, Richard, of Sherburn-in-
 Elmet, 70
 Haplesthorp, Simon of, vicar of Kild-
 wick, 62
 Harewood, 61, 68, 102, 113, 117-8,
 122
 —, church of, 100-5, 108, 110
 Harewood, Church of, vicars of: *see*
 Basset, Kidall, Men-
 yngham, Walker, Wath
 —, Mill Green at, 61
 —, mills of, 55, 61, 103, 117
 —: *see* Augrum, Bancroft, Snagh-
 yngbusk, Wytlaycroft
 Harold, king, 12
 Hartington, marchioness of: *see*
 Cavendish
 Hartland Abbey, Devon, 3
 Harton, Robert of, prior of Bolton,
 99-104
 —, —, Thomas and Isabel, pa-
 rents of, 102
 Haseley, Warwicks., church of, 28
 Hastings Priory, Sussex, 9
 Haughmond Abbey, Salop, 3, 15, 143,
 148, 160, 162, 173
 Hantenprise: *see* Haltemprise
 Hauterive (de), Thomas, 85
 Haverbergh, William of, 126
 Hawhouse in Draughton, 115
 Hawise, countess of Albemarle, 60
 Hawkswick, Isabel of, 118
 Hawton, Notts., church of, 135
 Hazelwood, 93, 113-5
 He . . . of York, 57
 Healaugh, church of, 36-7
 — Park Priory, Yorks, W.R., 24,
 36-7, 39
 — —, chapter of canons at, 39-
 40
 — —, — —, statute made
 there, 39-40, 43-4
 Healthwaite, 61
 Heckington, Lincs., church of, 135
 Hellinfield, 86, 114-5, 117
 —, mills of, 117, 126
 —: *see* Gylderflathow
 Helyot, H., *Histoire des Ordres monas-
 tiques* referred to, 6, 8, 26
 Henley-on-Thames, Oxon., 2
 Henry III, emperor, 7
 — I, king of England, 13, 16, 21,
 24-7, 30, 50
 — II, king of England, 12, 16, 20,
 24, 57, 59
 — III, king of England, 3, 16, 60,
 74
 — IV, king of England, 105
 — VIII, king of England, 23
Henry VIII, Letters and Papers, re-
 ferred to, 111, 112, 114, 115
 Henry son of Suan, 57-8
 — the cowherd, 128
 — the smith, of Appletreewick,
 123
 Herbert son of Herbert, 28
 Hereford, bishop of: *see* Gilbert
 Heslerton, church of, 36
 Hesse, church of, 35

Hetheryk, 61
 Ilkham Priory, Northumberland, 15,
 22, 31, 38, 40, 44, 146,
 148, 159, 162
 —, —, chapters of canons held
 at, 40
 —, —, priors of, 41
Hexham, The Priory of, referred to,
 15, 22, 31, 41-2
 Hexham, Richard of, referred to, 15,
 31
 Hilary, dean of Christchurch and
 bishop of Chichester, 21
 Hill, 85
 Hinehous: *see* Hynehouse
 Hippo, bishop of: *see* St. Augustine
 Hirst Priory in Axholme, Lincs., 26,
 29
 Hodges, C. C., on Selby Abbey
 Church, referred to, 135
 Hodgson, J. F., on plans of churches
 of Austin canons, referred to, 148
 Hog (le), William, canon, afterwards
 prior of Bolton, 64, 66-70
 Holden, Thomas and Elizabeth, 46
 Holderness, 84, 89, 99
 —, lord of: *see* Blois
 —, wapentake of, 89
 Holgate, Robert, archbishop of York,
 109
 Holme, 93, 121, 125-6
 —, grange of, 93
 Holmpton, 84, 89, 102, 113
 —, chapel of, 84
 Honorius III, pope, 32
 Hornby, Thomas of, 120
 Hotham, John, bishop of Ely, 96
 Hothfield, Lord, 115
 Hovyngham, John, canon of New-
 burgh and vicar of Kirkby-on-the-
 Moor, 35
 How, 74, 118, 122-3, 127-9
 Huddersfield, church of, 28, 31, 33
 Hugh son of Henry, 85, 89, 119
 Hugh of Welles, bishop of Lincoln,
 Liber Antiquus of, referred to, 18:
 Rotuli referred to, 28
 Hulle, 124
 Hundred Rolls: *see* *Rotuli Hun-*
 dredorum
 Hunketorp: *see* Ingthorpe
 Huntingdon Priory, 50-2, 54-5, 106,
 120
 Hurroctanes, 117, 126
 Hutton-on-Derwent, church of, 34
 Hyll, Edward, canon of Bolton, 112
 Hynehouse, Hinehous, le, 125, 128

I

Ilkley, church of, 120
 —, J. of, 126

Ingoldeby, Roger of, subprior of Bol-
 ton, 68, 70
 Ingthorpe, Hunketorp, Unkethorp,
 74, 117-8, 122-3, 125, 128
 Innocent III, pope, 18
 — VI, pope, 102
 Ipswich, Suffolk, priory of Holy
 Trinity (Christchurch), 20

J

J., lay brother, 126
 Jackson, Thomas: *see* Ottelay
 Jervaulx Abbey, 1
 John XXII, pope, 37
 —, abbot of Bourne, 37
 —, lay servant, 87
 — the chaplain of Skipton, 58
 —, prior of Bolton, 61-2: *see also*
 Laund
 Johnson, Dr., of Pontefract, 139
 Jordan of St. Mary's, 36
 — son of Essulf, 57
 Joylenedy, 124
 Jurdan, the carter's page, 124

K

Kalder, wood of, 85
 Katerallydeyate, 105
 Keighley, church of, 36, 62, 70, 113,
 117
 —, Henry of, 80: *see also* Kightley
 —, rector of: *see also* Langton
 Kellaw, Richard, bishop of Durham,
 135
 Kempe, John, archbishop of York,
 32, 34, 37, 106-7
 Kendale, Michael of, 120
 Kenilworth Abbey, Warwicks., 3
 Kent, Thomas, 176
 Kerebidam, 61
 Keswick, mills of, 117, 119: *see also*
 East Keswick, West Keswick
 Ketel son of Torfin, 57
 Kettlewell, rector of, 113, 117
 Keu (le), John, 90
 Kexbeck, 94
 Keynsham Abbey, Somerset, 3
 Kidall, Thomas of, canon of Bolton,
 vicar of Harewood and Skipton, 100
 Kightley (de), Henry, 89: *see also*
 Keighley
 Kilburn, church of, 34
 Kildale, chapel of St. Hilda, 37
 Kildwick, Childeuic, 54, 57-9, 74-5,
 85, 89, 92, 99, 102, 114-5, 117,
 122-3, 125, 127-8
 —, bridge of, 9
 —, church of, 55, 62, 78, 90, 93, 98,
 104, 106-8, 113-5, 118, 120
 —, vicar of: *see* Colton,
 Haplethorpe

- Kirk Ella, church of, 37
 Kirkby, John, canon of Bolton, 106
Kirkby's Inquest referred to, 75
 Kirkby Bellars, Leices., chapel of St. Peter and priory, 49
 — Malham, church of, 18, 104, 119
 — on-the-Moor, 35
 — Overblow, church of, 100
 Kirkham Priory, 24, 28, 34, 36, 38, 40, 60, 91-2, 143, 159
 —, prior of, 42
 Kirklevington, 34
 Kirkstall Abbey, 26, 119, 139, 143, 156, 159
 —, abbot of, 104: *see also* Alexander
 —, abbot and convent of, 62
 Knaresborough, church of, 28-9, 33
 —, constable of, 94
 —, prebend of Bichill and, in York Minster, 33
 Knaresbrughe, Robert, canon of Bolton, 112
 Knol, Knolle (de), Reiner, 86, 120
- L
- Labbe, P., *Concilia* referred to, 5, 7
 Lacock Abbey, Wilts., 162
 Lacy family, heir of, 30
 — (de), Robert, 15, 24, 25
 Lambart, John, of Calton, 114
 Lambeth, Surrey, registers of archbishops at, referred to, 6
 Lancaster, earl and countess of: *see* Aveline, Edmund, Thomas
 Lancaster, W. T.: *see* Bridlington, *Chartulary of*, 23
 Lanchester, co. Durham, collegiate church of, 23
 Landa (de), John: *see* Laund
 Landseer, Sir Edwin, 176
 Lanercost Priory, Cumb., 143, 148, 156, 160, 168, 169
 Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, 22
 Langbergh, 93
 Langefeld, Langefeud (de), William, 61, 120
 Langelega, church of: *see* Breedon
 Langham, Simon, archbishop of Canterbury, his register referred to, 6
 Langstrothdale, 84
 Langton, Walter, rector of Keighley, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and treasurer of the Exchequer, 70, 80, 83
 Langwode, 61
 Lateran councils, third and fourth, 18, 62
 Launceston Priory, Cornwall, 13
 Laund, Eve of, 98, 119, 121
 Laund, Henry of, canon of Bolton, 98, 126
 —, John of, prior of Bolton, 76-8, 94, 95, 98, 103, 116
 Laval (de), Hugh, 28
 Lawrence, prior of Bolton, 106: *see also* Gargrave
 Lawton, G., *Collections* referred to, 30-1, 33-4, 36
 Leach, A. F., works by, referred to, 22
 Leamington Hastings, Warwicks., church of, 28-9
 Leathley, 61: *see also* Montalt
 Ledbury, Herefords., church of, 11
 Ledes (de), Alexander, 61
 Ledes, John, canon of Bolton and vicar of Broughton, 108
 Leedes, Christopher, canon of Bolton, 112
 Leicester, 65
 —, archdeacon of: *see* Roger
 —, abbey, 3, 9, 10, 15, 17, 38, 108
 —, —, abbot of: *see* Repyngdon
 —, —, chapters of Austin canons at, 38, 43, 44
 Leiston Abbey, Suffolk, 160
 Leland, John, referred to, 17
 Le Neve, John, his *Fasti* referred to, 51
 Leo IX, pope, 7
 Leofric, bishop of Exeter, 13
 Lesnes Abbey, Kent, 3, 9
 Lewis the Pious, emperor, 5, 6
 Lilleshall Abbey, Salop, 3, 19, 143, 159
 Lincoln, 17
 —, bishops of: *see* Alexander, Gravesend, Hugh, Repyngdon, Rotherham,
 Lindesia (de), Adam, 55
 Lindisfarne, Northumberland, 53
 Lisle (de), John, of Rougemont, 100-3
 —, Ralph, 28
 —, Robert, 103
 —, Sir Robert, 102
 —, —, Margaret, wife of, 102
 —, William, canon of Bolton, 77
 Llanthony, Monm., priory, 135, 159
 Lobwith, 56-7, 85, 119, 123
 Lobwithslec, 56
 Locust Regalis: *see* Rewley
 — Sancti Edwardi: *see* Netley, Shaftesbury
 Lofthouse, 55, 117
 Lofthouse, Christopher, prior of Bolton and vicar of Long Preston, 109-10
 Loftus, church of, 36
 Lombard, Peter, *Sentences of*, 98
 London, 106
 —, archdeacon of, 51
 —, bishop of, 51: *see also* Beaumes

- London, cathedral church of St. Paul,
16
—, priory church of Holy Trinity
(Christ church),
14-6, 20
—, —, —, prior of: *see* Norman
—, —, —, of St. Bartholomew,
Smithfield, 139,
159-60
Long Preston, 80, 111
—, —, church of, 62, 80-3, 85-6,
90, 93, 104, 106-7,
110, 112-3, 117
—, —, —, rector of: *see* Skip-
ton
—, —, —, vicars of: *see* Loft-
house, Salley, Skipton, Wood
Longeville (de), Margaret: *see* Lunge-
vilers
Lorraine, constitutions of churches
derived from, 5-7, 12-3, 20
Lotharingian constitutions of
churches: *see* Lorraine
Lothersden, 85, 115
Lound, John of: *see* Lund
— (du), Peter, 126
Lucy (de), Richard, 59
—, Thomas, 84
Lumgill, Lumgile, 56
—, Head, 56
Lund, Lound, John of, canon, after-
wards prior of Bolton,
69, 70-6, 93, 94
—, —, canon of Bolton, after-
wards prior of Marton,
76
Lungevilers, Longeville (de), Mar-
garet: *see* Nevill
Luvetot family, pedigree of, 53
— (de), Richard, 53
—, —, William, 53, 54
Lyle, Robert: *see* Lisle
Lynlandes, 119
Lythe, church of, 27-8, 30, 33
Lythebank, 125
- M
- Machon (le), Henry, of Skipton, 50, 83
Macrefeld, S. Oswaldi de, church of:
see Winwick
Macun, Robert, 57
Maidenhead, Berks., 2
Malham, 58-9, 74-5, 85, 89, 102,
113-4, 117-9, 122, 125, 127-8
—, Hall, 114
—, Thomas of, 89
—, William of, and Alice his wife,
84
Malhom, William, canon of Bolton,
112
Mallet, Sir Charles, his *History of the
University of Oxford* referred to, 46
Mamound, William, 114
Man, William, prior of Bolton, 108,
109
Manfredi, Bernardo, 119, 126
Manningham: *see* Menyngham
Markenfield, Sir John of, 120
Marsden, Gilbert: *see* Wilson
Marshall, William, canon of Bolton,
68, 70
Marton-in-Craven, 74, 85, 115, 117
—, —, church of, 36, 62
—, —, mills of, 85, 122
Marton-in-Galtres Priory, 24, 34, 36,
40, 44, 51, 76, 80, 115
—, —, prior of: *see* Lund
Marton, Walter of, 126
—, William of, 85, 89
—, —, Peter, son of, 85
Mary, sister of Henry VIII, duchess
of Suffolk, 111
Maud, queen of England, 14, 16
Mauger: *see* Robert
Mauleverer, Malleverer, Malleurer,
Helto, Halto, 55, 58-9
—, William, 75, 89, 94
Mauley (de), Peter, 30
Mayrden, Gilbert: *see* Marsden
Meaux Abbey, Yorks., E.R., 1, 60
Melton, William, archbishop of York,
41-2, 76, 90-4, 99
Menyngham, Manningham, Thomas
of, canon of Bolton, vicar of Skip-
ton and Harewood, 91-2, 99-100
Merebec, 56
Merton Priory, Surrey, 44
Mertone, prior of, 44
Meschin, lee of, 55, 89
Meschin, pedigree of, 51
—, William, 50-2, 54-5, 57-8, 60
Metz, bishop of: *see* St. Chrodegang
—, dean of: *see* Amalarius
Mexborough, church of, 28, 29, 32
Michelham Priory, Sussex, 9
Middelton, Peter of, 88
Midelton, Adam of, 126
Middleton (de), J., 121
—, Walter of, 126
Migne, J-P., *Patrologia Latina*, works
included in, quoted, 4-5, 6, 8
Missenden Abbey, Bucks., 3, 9
Miton, Peter of, 116
Moker (le), Peter, 124
Monasticon Anglicanum referred to,
12-3, 15, 17, 19-20, 22, 24, 26,
27, 29, 36, 50-2, 54-9, 61
Mone, Richard: *see* Moore
Monkton: *see* Nunmonkton
Montalt (de), Geoffrey, of Leathley,
61

Moone, Mone, Moyne, Richard, prior of Bolton, 111-2, 114, 116, 154, 155
 Mori, Geoffrey, 57, 85
 Morton, Peter of, 57
 —, Robert of, canon of Thurgarton, 88
 Mottisfont Priory, Hants., 143, 160
 Moxby Priory, 24
 Moyne, Richard: *see* Moore
 Muhaunt, Simon, 57
 Multon (de), Thomas, 84
 Muncin, Roger, 57
 Murdac, Henry, archbishop of York, 23, 56, 81

N

Nantes (Loire-Inférieure), 95
 Navenby, Lincs., church of, 135
 Nescefeld, Neel of, 127
 Nesfield, Hugh of, canon of Bolton, 69
 Netley Abbey (*Locus Sancti Edwardi*), Hants., 13
 Nevill, Geoffrey, 85
 —, —, Margaret (Lungevilers), wife of, 85, 89-90, 119
 —, Sir Ralph, 89, 100, 120
 Neville, George, archbishop of York, 108, 109
 Newark Priory, Surrey, 143, 159
 —, Henry of, archbishop of York, 79
 Newbiggin, 117, 120
 Newbold Pacey, Warwicks., church of, 28
 Newburgh Priory, Yorks., N.R., 24, 34, 35-6, 38, 40
 — —, —, prior of, 45, 51
 — —, —, provincial chapters held at, 38, 39
 Newcourt, Richard, his *Repertorium* referred to, 16
 Newhall, 55, 115
 Newhouse, Lincs., abbot of, 52
 Newnham Priory, Beds., 19
 Newsholme, 117, 126
 Newstead Priory, Lincs., 42
 — —, —, chapters of canons held at, 42-4
 — —, Notts., 40, 42, 148, 159-160, 162, 168-9
 Nicholas, 124
 — II, pope, 7
Nomina Villarum referred to, 89
 Norbury, Derbyshire, church of, 135
 Norman, prior of Holy Trinity, London, 16
 Normandy, constitution of secular churches in, 22
 Northallerton, 78
 Northampton, St. James' Abbey, 3, 40
 —, —, —, chapters of canons held at, 42-4

Northampton, St. James' Abbey, statutes made at, 42-3
Northumberland County History referred to, 23
 Norwich, cathedral church of Holy Trinity (Christchurch), 20
 —, bishop of: *see* Airmyn
 Nostell, Nostlay, Nostlec, St. Oswald's Priory at, 15, 19, 23-30, 38, 46, 91-2, 99
 —, —, —, chapters of Austin canons held at, 39
 —, —, —, chartulary of, referred to, 25, 31
 Nostlay, Nostlec: *see* Nostell
 Notelshagh, 93
 Nottingham, 57
Nova Taxatio referred to, 90
 Novus Locus, 13: *see also* Newstead
 Nunmonkton Priory, 119
 Nutley, Bucks., abbey, 3, 17, 18

O

Oglander, Peter, 21
 Orsini, Napoleon, canon of York, 82
 Osbert of Bayeux, archdeacon of York, 56-8
 Oseney Abbey, Oxon, 3, 19
 — —, —, chapters of canons held at, 43-4, 46
 Osmund the chaplain, probably parish priest of Kildwick, 58: *see also* Simon
 Oterburne, Ranulf of, 85
 Othobon, cardinal, constitutions of, referred to, 18
 Otley, 65-6, 121, 124
 —, Henry of, 126
 —, John of, canon of Bolton, 63, 68, 70
 —, S. of, 129
 —, Simon of, 126
 Ottelay, Jackson, Thomas, prior of Bolton, 111
 Otteley, Richard of, canon of Bolton, 93
 —, Robert of, prior of Bolton, 104
 —, Simon or Richard of, canon of Bolton, 91
 Otterburn, John of, 103
 —, John of, 103
 —, —, Elisot, wife of, 103
 —, Thomas of, 103-4
 —, —, Maud, wife of, 103
 Ottringham, 84
 —, church of, 34
 Owston Abbey, Leices., 3
 Oxford, 98, 126
 —, Christ Church, dean and chapter of, 115
 —, church of St. George in the Castle, 19

- Oxford, St. Mary's College, house for Augustinian students at, 46,
47
—, St. Frideswide's Priory (Christ Church), 19, 146,
159
—, —, —, chapters of canons held at, 44
- P
- Page, William, his *Remarks on Churches of the Domesday Survey* referred to, 10
- Parcour, Adam, 129
- Paris, Abbey of St. Victor, congregation of, 3, 9, 37
- Park, statutes of the: *see* Healaugh Park
- Paschal 11, pope, 13-5, 19
- Pattrington, church of, 135
- Paunche, Simon, 124
- Peers, C. R., 143
- Peniesthorpe, Penyesthorp, 84, 102
- Percy (de), Alan, 56
—, Henry, 85
—, Picot, 28
—, William, 37
- Percy fee, 75, 89
- Peutrer (le), Richard, 117, 124
- Peveler, John, 102
—, Pain, 15, 19
- Placita de Quo Warranto* referred to, 75
- Plompton, Lawrence, canon of Bolton, 112
- Plumpton (de), Robert, 61
- Plympton, Devon, priory, 13, 20
- Pog, Adam, 124
- Pomfret, John of, canon of Bolton, 63, 65, 68
—, Nicholas of, canon of Bolton, 69
- Pontefract, 139
—, priory of St. John, 24
- Popes: *see* Alexander, Benedict, Boniface, Celestine, Gregory, Honorius, Innocent, John, Leo, Nicholas, Paschal, Stephen, Urban
- Poseford, 58, 59
- Poteman, William, vicar-general of Archbishop Rotherham, 109-10
- Prefet, Adam, 121
- Premonstratensian order, 9, 18, 38, 130, 143
- Prémontré (Aisne), abbey of, 9, 24
- Prestgile, 86
- Preston-in-Craven: *see* Long Preston
- Profit, Henry, of Appletreewick, 100
—, —, Adam, son of, 100
—, —, Agnes, daughter of: *see* Brereton
—, —, Custance, daughter of, 100
- Proverbs, book of, referred to, 88
- Prynne, William, his *Records* referred to, 78
- Pykeryng, Thomas, canon of Bolton, 112
- Pynnyn, Alan, 124
- Q
- Quereur (le), Ralph, 125
- Quynnefeld, 117, 126
- Quyrlle, Robert, 124
- R
- R., mason, 50
- Racche, Gilbert, 122
- Radford, Notts.: *see* Worksope Priory
- Radstone, Northants., 84
- Raine, James, chancellor of York, works by, referred to, 22
—, —, the elder, his *St. Cuthbert* referred to, 53
- Ralph, prior of Hirst, 26
- Ranerus: *see* Aldred
- Ravenswaih, mill of, 117
- Rawdon, 55, 61, 75, 89, 102, 114-5, 117
—, John of, 124
- Redvers (de), Baldwin, 21
—, Isabel, countess of Devon: *see* Forz
- , Richard, 21
- Reginald, earl, 57
- Reims (Marne), abbey of St. Denis, 8
— —, archbishop of: *see* Gervais
- Repton Priory, Derbyshire, 143, 148, 160, 168
- Repyngdon, Philip, abbot of Leicester and bishop of Lincoln, 10
- Rescevont, Resceunt, John, 117, 119-20, 126
- Revel, Reynald, 54
- Rewley Abbey (*Locus Regalis*), Oxon., 13
- Reynald, prior of Embsay, 50-2, 55, 58, 61
- Reyner, canon of Bolton, 68
- Richard 1, king of England, 75
— 11, king of England, 105
— son of Elsulph, 55
— the carpenter, 124
— the harrower, 124
- Richmond, 59, 83
- Richmund, George, canon of Bolton, 12
- Richter and Friedberg: *see* *Corpus Juris Canonici*
- Ridings, Riddings, Riddingg, Rid-dyngg, in Halton, 74, 114, 118, 121-2, 124-5, 127-9

- Rievaulx Abbey, 1, 24, 152
 Ripon, 40, 118, 120
 —, collegiate church, 11, 22-3, 139
 —, Robert of, canon of Bolton, 67, 69
 Rislestone (de), William, 55
 Robert of Torigny, his chronicle referred to, 26
 —, prior of Bolton, 61
 — son of Engerramus, 55
 —, — Mauger, 50
 — the baker, 124
 — the smith, 124
 Rocester Abbey, Staffs., 3
 Roderton (de), William, 61
 Roger the miller, 124
 Rolleston, Roger of, archdeacon of Leicester, 52
 Rome, 21, 77, 105
 Romeyn (le), John, archbishop of York, 31, 39-40, 75-9, 87
 Romilli, lady: *see* Rumilly (de), Alice
 Romulus and Remus, paintings of, 176
 Roos, church of, 36
 Roper, Thomas, 114
 Rotherham, Thomas, archbishop of York, 109, 110, 111
 Rotherham, William of, canon of Bolton, 91
 Rothwell, church of, 28, 29, 32, 33
Rotuli Hundredorum referred to, 74, 99
 — *Parliamentorum* referred to, 78, 84
 Rougemont, Yorks., W.R., 100: *see also* Lisle
 Rontandebek, the, 57
 Ruccroft, Rukcroft, in Storiths, 93, 119
 Rumilly (de), Alice, 54, 56-9, 60, 61, 139
 —, Amice, Avice, 55, 60-1
 —, —, William, son of, 55
 —, Cecily, 50-2, 54-5, 57-61
 —, Robert, 50
 Ruskin, John, quoted, 1-2
 Russel, Henry, 91
 Ryedale, 31
 Rylstone, 57
 —, Sir William of, 105
 Rypon, Robert of, canon of Bolton, 91
 Rysphill, 93
 Ryther, 65, 75, 77, 85, 92, 120, 122, 125
 —, William of, and Lucy his wife, 77
 —, William son of Gilbert of, 85
- S
- Sacristy, the, 93, 91
 St. Andrews, Fife, priory church of, 159
 St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, 4, 8, 14
 —, Rule of, 3, 8-9, 12, 14, 36, 48, 71
 St. Benedict, Rule of, 8
 —, of Aniane, 5
 St. Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, 4, 5, 6, 48
 St. Cuthbert, dedications of churches to, 53-4, 71
 —, feast of, 59, 75
 St. Germans, Cornwall, cathedral church, afterwards priory, 13
 St. Helen, John of, 61
 St. John of Bridlington, 15
 St. Julian, 13
 St. Leonard, house of: *see* York
 St. Odo, abbot of Cluny, 6
 St. Osyth's Abbey, Essex, 3
 St. Paul, second epistle to Corinthians referred to, 88
 St. Peter, fee of, 28
 St. Peter Damian, 7
 St. William, archbishop of York, 23
 Ste-Barbe, William of, dean of York and bishop of Durham, 51
 Sallay, Thomas, canon of Bolton and vicar of Long Preston, 108
 Salley Abbey, Yorks., W.R., 56, 105
 —, —, —, abbot of: *see* Benet
 Salter, H. E., his *Chapters of Augustinian Canons* referred to, 9, 13, 38-40, 42-7
 Salton, church and prebend of, 31
 Sandiacre, Derbyshire, church of, 135
 Sausthorpe, Robert of, 79
 Saut, William, of Bayonne, 81
 Scalby, church of, 34
 Scalewra, 117, 126
 Scarborough, church of, 34, 35
 Scokirk: *see* Tockwith
 Scosthop, Yorks., W.R., 89, 113-4, 117
 —, Robert of, 89
 —, Thomas of, 89
 Scotland, 117
 Scots, invasions of the, 31, 90-1, 93-4, 96, 98
 —, kings of: *see* David, Duncan
Scottish Historical Review referred to, 23
 Scope, Richard, archbishop of York, 107
 Selby, 65
 —, abbey, 134-5
 —, John of, canon of Bolton, 91
 Sempringham, Lincs., order of, Gilbertine order, 9, 24
 Settle, 90
 Shaftesbury Abbey (*Locus Sancti Edwardi*), Dorset, 13
 Shap Abbey, Westmorland, 95, 148, 160
 Shelford Priory, Notts., 10, 91-2
 Sherburn-in-Elmet: *see* Handbaud
 Sheringham, Norfolk, church of, 17
 Sherwood Forest, Notts., 42
 Shoreditch, Middlesex, church of St. Leonard, 16

- Shrewsbury, church of St. Alkmund, 19
 Silsden, Yorks., W.R., 58, 113-5, 119,
 122
 —, —, mill of, 59
 Simon of Apulia, dean of York, 52
 — son of Gospatric, 55
 — son of Osmund, 58
 Skelton, church of, 34
 Skibden, Skibdunc, 56-7, 93, 118
 Skipsea, castle of, 89
 Skipton, 51, 57-9, 84-5, 93, 112-5,
 117-8, 120, 122, 124-5, 127
 —, castle of, 60, 75, 90, 93-4, 96,
 111, 115, 119
 —, church of, 50-2, 58, 62, 71,
 77-8, 83, 90, 93-4, 96,
 99-100, 104-8, 112-5
 —, —, chaplain of: *see* John
 —, —, vicars of: *see* Blackburn,
 Boston, Bradley, Farnehill,
 Ferroure, Kidall, Menyngham,
 Wath, Wintringham
 —, honour of, 50, 54, 60-1, 66, 80,
 89, 95-6, 115
 Skipton, Cecily of, William, son of, 117
 —, Roger of, rector of Long Pres-
 ton, 82
 —, —, vicar of Kildwick, 93
 —: *see* Machon
 Skirgile, 127-8
 Skypse, Richard, rector of Slaidburn,
 104
 Slaidburn, rector of: *see* Skypse
 Smalpas, Roger, 124
 Smyth, John, of Baildon, 107
 Snaghal, 125
 Snaghyngbusk in Harewood, 102
 Soissons (Aisne), abbey of St-Jean-
 des-Vignes, 19
 Somerscales, 122, 125, 129
 —, Robert of, 129
 Somerset, church towers in, 155
 South Kirkby, church of, 28, 29, 32, 33
 Southwell, Notts., collegiate church,
 6, 22, 23
 Speciesbek: *see* Spectebek
 Spectebek, Speciesbek, 58-59
 Speeton, chapel of, 34
 Speyhttehow, 125
 Spirhard, William, 120
 Sproatley, church of, 30
 Stadhampton, Oxon., 48
 Stainton-by-Tickhill, chapel of, 28, 32
 Stamford, Lincs., 42
 —, —, Browne's Hospital, 172
 Stamford Bridge, 112
 Stavordale Priory, Somerset, 9
 Stede (le), 58-9, 118, 122-5, 128-9
 —, grange of, 90
 Stecton, 113-4, 117
 Stephen, king of England, 23, 24
 — IX, pope, 7
 — son of Neel, 119
 Stirton, Stretone, 54, 56-7, 85, 93,
 115, 117
 Stockton, 55
 Storiths, 74, 93, 113-5, 117-9, 124, 126
 Stow, John, 16
 Strattona: *see* Stirton
 Street, 75
 Street, G. E., 156
 Stretone: *see* Stirton
 Strid, the, 2
 Stubham, 117, 126
 Stubhouse, 55
 Stury, Richard, 103
 Stutevill (de), Simon, 126
 Suan, Suanus, Swan: *see* Adam,
 Henry
 Sutton, 113-4
 Swaledale, Upper, 35
 Swan: *see* Suan
 Sweyn son of Ailric, 28
 Swynewaht, 119
- T
- Talley Abbey, Carmarthenshire, 143
 Tanfield, Danfeld, William of, prior
 of Bolton, 62-4, 66
Taxatio Ecclesiastica referred to, 78,
 81, 90, 100
 Tempeste, Tempest, Roger, 55, 57
 Thirkleby, church of, 34
 Thirneholm, Stephen, canon of Bol-
 ton, 91
 Thirsk, church of, 34
 Thomas of Bayeux, archbishop of
 York, 22
 — II, archbishop of York, 15,
 22-4, 27, 54
 —, earl of Lancaster, 96
 —, prior of Bolton, 61
 —, king's carter, 96
 Thompson, A. Hamilton, works by,
 referred to, 7, 8, 17-8, 23, 28, 35,
 44, 48-9, 74, 108
 Thonnocker, Thounoker, 118, 126
 Thoresby, John, archbishop of York,
 34, 100, 104
 — Society, publications of, re-
 ferred to, 26
 Thorlby, 93, 115
 Thornton Abbey, Lincs., 3, 60
 — —, —, abbot of, 42
 —, Gregory of, 120
Thoroton Society, Transactions of, re-
 ferred to, 3, 18
 Thorpe, Thorp, 84, 117, 126
 Thounoker: *see* Thonnocker
 Threshfield, 115, 117
 Thurgarton, Notts., priory, 38, 40, 88,
 91, 98
 —, —, —, canon of: *see* Morton
 —, —, —, chapters of canons
 held at, 40
 Thursdene, 122

Thwaytes, John of, 106
 Thweng, John, canon of Bolton, 105
 Thwing, 36
 Tickhill, Tickhill Castle, Yorks., W.R.,
 church of, 19, 27-8, 32-3
 Tingwith, Nicholas of, 119
 Tintern Abbey, Monm., 1, 146
 Titchfield Abbey, Hants., 143, 160
 Tockwith, Scokirk, chapel of, 28-9
 Tong, Adam, 120
 Torfin: *see* Ketel
 Torre Abbey, Devon, 148, 169
 Toul (Meurthe-et-Moselle), bishop of:
 see Bruno
 Tracy (de), Henry, 55
 Trivers (de), Bartholomew, 85
 Tufton, family of, 115
 —, John, earl of Thanet, 115
 —: *see* Hothfield
 Turstin, archbishop of York, 22, 24-5,
 27, 29, 30-1, 50-1, 53-6, 62
 Twynham, Hants.: *see* Christchurch
 Tyays, Baldwin, constable of Skipton
 Castle, 90

U

Uianeis (de), Walter, 55
 Ulfus: *see* Aldred
 Ulverscroft Priory, Leices., 173
 Unkethorp: *see* Ingthorpe
 —, Adam of, 121
 Upleatham, church of, 34
 Urban II, pope, 8, 19

V

Valle Crucis Abbey, Denbighshire,
 163
Valor Ecclesiasticus referred to, 11,
 103, 111
 Vavasour, Sir William, 87
 —, William, 56
 —, —, Robert and Mauger, sons
 of, 56
 Vavazur (le), William, 61
Veritates Theologiae, 98
 Vesey (de), Richard, 120
 Vezano (de), Giffredus, canon of
 Cambrai, 120
 Victorine monasteries: *see* Paris,
 Abbey of St. Victor
Victoria County History of Yorkshire
 referred to, 24, 37, 76, 111, 112
Visitations of Religious Houses re-
 ferred to: *see* Thompson
 Viterbo, monastery of San Martino ai
 Monti at, 77-8

W

Wake, family of, 37
 —, Thomas, lord Wake of Liddell, 37
 Walchesburn: *see* Walkesburn
 Walkot, Walkotes, William of, 84, 99
 Walker, or Otley, Percival, canon of
 Bolton and vicar of Harewood, 109

Walkesburn, Walchesburn, 58-9
 Walkotes, William of: *see* Walcot
 Wall, William, 111
 Walter of Hemingbrough, his chroni-
 cle referred to, 24, 135
 Waltham Abbey, Essex, 3, 9, 12-3,
 16, 19, 21
 Warde, Simon, 61
 Warelwast, William, bishop of
 Exeter, 13, 19
 Warenne, earl of: *see* William
 Warmfield, church of, 28-9, 32-3
 Warter Priory, 24, 36, 40, 91
 —, —, prior of, 39
 Wassand, Richard of, 70
 Wath, Lawrence of, canon of Bolton
 and vicar of Harewood and Skip-
 ton, 91, 100
 Weardley, 55, 61, 117, 126
 Weaverthorpe, church of, 28, 32-3
 Weeton, 55, 61, 113, 115, 117
 Welbury, church of, 36
 Wellow, Grimsby Abbey, Lincs., 3
 Wells, Somerset, cathedral church, 6
 Welwickthorpe, 88
 Wenge, Arnold, 120
 Wenlock Priory, Salop, 163
 Wentworth, Wynteworth, 75, 113,
 116-7, 126
 Westacre, Norfolk, priory, prior of, 42
 West Dereham, Norfolk, abbey, 18
 West Halton: *see* Halton
 — Hardwick, 25
 — Keswick, ? Westskoiht, 117
 — Langdon Abbey, Kent, 160
 Westminster, 83
 Weston, Thomas of, 117
 Westow, church of, 34
 Westskoiht: *see* West Keswick
 Westybank, 123
 Wetherby, William of, canon of Bol-
 ton, 70
 Weybourne Priory, Norfolk, 143
 Whalley Abbey, Lancs., 175
 Wharfe river, 1, 56, 58-60, 93
 Wharfedale, 94
 Wharram-le-Street, church of, 27, 30
 — Percy, church of, 37
 Wheldrake, 78
 Whitaker, T. D., his *History of Craven*
 referred to, 53, 55, 60, 79, 82-4,
 90-8, 100, 105-6, 108-11, 124
 Whitby Abbey, 1, 160
 Whitnash, Warwicks., church of, 28
 Wickwane, William, archbishop of
 York, 39, 41, 42, 69, 71-4
 Wigglesworth, 115
 Wighill, church of, 36
 Wight, Isle of, lady of: *see* Forz
 Wigmore Abbey, Herefords., 3
 Wigton, 55, 61, 74-5, 89, 102, 106,
 113-5, 117, 122
 —, mill of, 117

- Wike, 55
 Wilkes, William, canon of Bolton, 112
 Willerby, church of, 34
 William I, king of England, 22
 — II, Rufus, king of England, 20
 — Fitz Duncan, 54, 56, 60
 — of Egremont, 57, 60
 — of Rilleston, 57: *see also* Risles-
 tona
 —, canon of Carlisle, 40
 —, dean of York: *see* Ste-Barbe
 —, earl of Warenne, 28
 —, treasurer of York: *see* St. Wil-
 liam
 — of the buttery, 120
 — the carpenter, 124
 —, painter, 97
 Wilson, or Marsden, Gilbert, prior of
 Bolton, 109-11
 —, James, hon. canon of Carlisle,
 his *Constitutional Growth of*
Carlisle Cathedral referred to,
 23
 Wilton, church of, 34
 Winchester, Hants., 59
 —, bishop of, 21
 —, —: *see* Edington
 Wintringham, Richard of, canon of
 Bolton and vicar of Skipton, 105
 Winwick, Lancs., church of, 28
 Wolsey, Thomas, archbishop of York
 and cardinal, 46, 109
 Wood, Christopher, prior of Bolton
 and vicar of Long Preston, 110, 111
 Woodhouses, Adam of, 80
 —, William of, 80
 Woodkirk, church of, 28-9
 Woodspring Priory, Somerset, 9
 Worcester, cathedral priory, 160
 Worksop, Notts., priory, 34, 38, 40,
 52-4, 91, 92: *see*
also Radford
 —, —, —, chapters of Austin
 canons held at,
 38, 40
 Wormsley Priory, Herefords., 9
 Wragby, chapel of, 30, 34, 36
 Wye river, 1
 Wygedon (de), Richard, 61
 Wymondley Priory, Herts., 9
 Wynteworth: *see* Wentworth
 Wytlaycroft in Harewood, 61
- Y
- Yarm, church of, 34
 —, hospital of St. Nicholas at, 57
 Yeadon, 56, 113-5, 117
 Yoleson, 115
 York, 53, 58, 63, 74, 80, 83-4, 90,
 92-3, 97-8, 112, 117, 120,
 122-3
 —, abbey of St. Mary, 1, 22, 35
 York, archbishops of, 30: *see also*
 Aldred, Alfric, Bair bridge,
 Bothe, Bowet, Corbridge,
 Cynesige, Geoffrey, Giffard,
 Gray, Greenfield, Holgate,
 Kempe, Melton, Murdac,
 Neville, Newark, Romeyn,
 Rotherham, St. William,
 Scrope, Thomas, Turstin,
 Wickwane, Wolsey, Young,
 Zouche
 —, archdeacon of, 62: *see also*
 Hambleton, Osbert
 —, —, official of, 76
 —, archdeaconry of, 32
 —, —, visitation of, 71
 —, Bootham in, 115
 —, cathedral church, 6, 23, 27, 30-2
 —, —, dean of: *see* Ham-
 bleton, Ste-Barbe,
 Simon
 —, —, —, dean and chapter
 of, 31, 81, 86, 100,
 104, 106
 —, —, —, fabric fund, 86
 —, —, —, precentor of, 51
 —, church of Holy Trinity (Christ-
 church), 20
 —, — St. Olave, 115
 —, county court at, 67
 —, court of, official of, 107
 —, hospital of St. Leonard, 115, 119
 —, —, —, master of: *see* Langton
 —, — St. Nicholas, 125
 —, prior of Bridlington's house at, 39
 —, priory of St. Clement: *see*
 Clementhorpe
 —, province of, 3, 41-2
 —, —, Augustinian, 38 *sqq.*
 —, receiver of archbishop at, 65
 —, *Register of Corpus Christi Guild*
 referred to, 109
 —, sheriff of, 66-8
 —, *Sede Vacante* register referred
 to, 99, 104
 —, synods at, 40-1
 —, use of, 39
 York, Church of, *Historians of*, re-
 ferred to, 6, 22
 York, Adam of, 100
 —, Gillian of, 119
 —, Hugh of, canon of Bolton, 63-4
 —, R. of, 129
 —, Richard of, 123
 Yorkshire Archaeological Journal re-
 ferred to, 35
 — Chantry Surveys referred to, 103
 Young, Thomas, archbishop of York,
 109
- Z
- Zouche (la), William, archbishop of
 York, 19, 99-100

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